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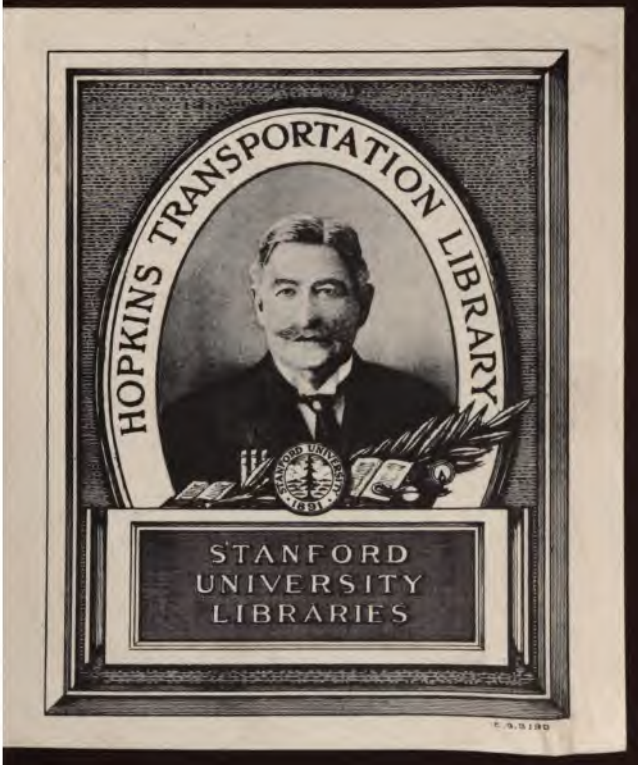
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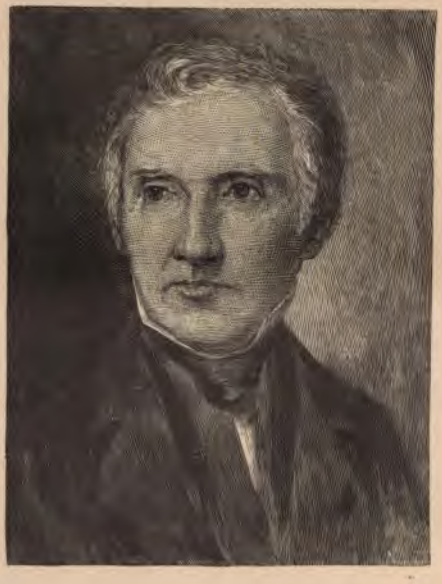

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VOYAGES

OF

A MERCHANT NAVIGATOR

OF THE DAYS THAT ARE PAST

COMPILED FROM THE JOURNALS AND LETTERS

OF THE LATE

RICHARD J. CLEVELAND

BY

H. W. S. CLEVELAND

NEW YORK

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PREFACE

THOSE who have got beyond the childish belief that happiness is the end and aim of existence, and is actually attainable in this stage of it—who have learned by the discipline of adversity and disappointment that the grand object of life is the development of character, while happiness is only the occasional, incidental attendant on its pursuit —will read the following story with an appreciative interest which only such education can afford.

H. W. S. C.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Salem, the Part she Took in the Revolution.—Stephen Cleveland.—Commercial Activity Succeeding the Revolution, and its Effect on the Character of the Community.....Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Early Years.—Cultivation of Commercial Tastes.—First Voyage.—Voyage with Captain Silsbee.—Letters to his Father.—Voyage from Havre to Cape of Good Hope.—Interest Excited by his Arrival..... 13

CHAPTER III.

Voyage from China to the Northwest Coast of America.—Letters from Canton.—Difficulties of the Undertaking.—Hardships of the Voyage.—Mutiny of the Men.—Adventures on the Coast.—Safe Return to Canton..... 34

CHAPTER IV.

From Canton to Calcutta, and thence to the Isle of France.—First Meeting with William Shaler.—From the Isle of France to Copenhagen.—Purchase of the Brig *Lelia Byrd*, and Preparations for a Voyage Round the World.—The Count de Rouissillon. 57

CHAPTER V.

Voyage of the *Lelia Byrd*.—Adventures in Chili and on the Coast of California.—Thence to the Sandwich Islands and China, and thence in the *Alert* to Boston..... 76

CHAPTER VI.

Marriage and Settlement at Lancaster, Massachusetts.—Forced to Resume Navigation.—Voyage of the *Aspasia*, and its Ruinous Termination.....Page 101

CHAPTER VII.

The Embargo.—Voyage to Africa.—Goes to England in Search of Business.—Thence, Secretly, to Holland, and Home as Bearer of Despatches.—Voyage to Naples.—Vessel and Cargo Seized and Confiscated.—Life at Naples and Rome... 125

CHAPTER VIII.

From Italy to Lisbon and thence to England 142

CHAPTER IX.

Transactions in England and on the Continent.—A Project Promising Great Results Defeated by the Failure of the Russian Campaign 153

CHAPTER X.

Sails in the Ship *Beaver* from New York for the West Coast of South America. — Seized at Talcahuana. — Plots to Take the Spanish Frigate *Venganza*. — Seized with Fever. — Is Sent to Lima in the Brig *Canton*..... 167

CHAPTER XI.

Letters to the Viceroy and to Mr. Astor.—Arrival at Lima.—Reception by the Viceroy.—Goes to Valparaiso on a Secret Mission. —The *Beaver* Restored. — Captain Biddle Supplies a First Officer 184

CHAPTER XII.

Operations on the Coast of Peru.—Proclamation of Blockade, which he Sets at Defiance with Entire Success.—Satisfaction of the Viceroy.—Sails for Rio Janeiro..... 199

CHAPTER XIII.

Recapitulation of the Occurrences of Three Years.—Letter from the Underwriters, and his Reply.—Home Again.—Disgraceful Conduct of the National Insurance Company.....Page 213

CHAPTER XIV.

Failure to Secure the Proceeds of his Adventures.—Pursuit of Arizmendi to Hamburg, and subsequently to Madrid.—Mr. Shaler Appointed Consul at Havana.—My Father Goes with him as Vice-Consul.—Death of Mr. Shaler.—Obtains an Office in Boston Custom-House.—Takes up his Residence with me, and Dies in my House at the Age of Eighty-seven..... 226

VOYAGES

OF

A MERCHANT NAVIGATOR

OF THE DAYS THAT ARE PAST.

CHAPTER I.

Salem, the Part she took in the Revolution.—Stephen Cleveland.—Commercial Activity Succeeding the Revolution, and its Effect on the Character of the Community.

THE names of many of the cities and towns of the old world are associated in the mind with conceptions of character almost as vivid as those which attach to individual persons.

We think of some as centres of intellectual or artistic culture. Others are invested with an odor of sanctity, or call to mind visions of decayed grandeur, or an undefined sense of weird and ghostly superstitions. A sort of moral atmosphere seems to hang over them, which imparts its hue to every object or incident pertaining to them. Such associations are naturally less frequent and less palpable with us, and yet we have many towns which have attained such reputation for

peculiar qualities, resulting from circumstances of past history, that we speak of events which transpire within their borders as being characteristic of the place, just as we should of any person whose idiosyncrasies were well known, and we instantly recognize the effect of these peculiar characteristics in the action of individual members of the community.

There is, perhaps, no town on this continent whose name carries with it such distinctly marked associations of this kind as Salem, Massachusetts. There is certainly none which sustained a more important part in the early history of the country, and none which has retained so many outward evidences of its former character.

The stranger who wanders to-day through the quiet streets of Salem, or lingers about her deserted wharves, is impressed with the Sabbath-like stillness which pervades them, and the vague sense of departed vitality with which they are invested. Old-fashioned homes of spacious size, whose walls in long-past days have echoed the greetings of old-fashioned hospitality, stand apart in the shade of patriarchal elms or lindens, and seem to plead with mute eloquence against the innovation of modern improvements. Great warehouses stand, empty and silent, on the vacant wharves which once resounded with the notes of busy commerce. In my younger days a peculiar feature of the streets was the frequent presence at the corners of an old cannon, made to do duty as a corner-post. It had a picturesque effect, and was so suggestive of past history that I cannot but regret the lack of taste which suffered them to be removed. They were most frequently to be seen in

the streets nearest the wharves, which were then lined with ship-chandler's shops, sailors' boarding-houses, slop-shops, etc., and were filled with the motley crowd of sailors, longshoremen, and the various amphibious bipeds inherent to such places. All these have long since disappeared, like frogs and tadpoles from a drained marsh, and no sight, sound, or odor remains that is suggestive of marine or commercial life.

There are, however, no signs of the poverty we are accustomed to associate with decay. The evidences of wealth and refined culture are obvious, and an aspect of comfort and respectability is seen even in the plainest dwellings, while the tidy cleanliness which everywhere prevails affords no suggestion of squalor or want. But the sources of prosperity are not perceptible. The machinery of life is out of sight and hearing, and the man whose interest in life is dependent on the ceaseless activity which is the characteristic of our new and growing towns is apt to turn with a sneer of contempt from a place which seems so dead to everything like active enterprise.

Yet the present serene and quiet condition of Salem is the final result—the "ripening off," after fermentation—of such elements of activity and enterprise as have never been surpassed, and have exerted so important an influence on the destinies of the country that they should not be forgotten.

The part which Salem played in the great drama of the revolution was unique, and constituted a vitally important factor in the sum of events which led to the final consummation.

It should be borne in mind that we entered upon that contest with the first naval power in the world without a single ship of war; with our commerce ruined, and the ports of Boston and New York in the hands of the enemy, a fate soon after shared by Newport, Philadelphia, Savannah, and Charleston. Salem saw her opportunity and proved herself equal to its demands. She turned her vessels into men-of-war, armed and manned them, and sent them out to prey on British commerce. During the war upwards of one hundred and fifty vessels, carrying more than two thousand guns, were sent out of her port, and more than four hundred and fifty prizes were captured and sent in by them. They cruised in the English and Irish channels and the Bay of Biscay; they brought arms and munitions of war from France and the French islands; they intercepted the transport ships bringing reinforcements and supplies from England to the troops in Boston and New York; they raised the rate of insurance on British ships to twenty-three per cent., and compelled England to employ her navy in convoying merchantmen, and in repeated instances achieved success by the most desperate feats of valor.

A very active part in the promotion of this service was taken by my grandfather, Stephen Cleveland, a sketch of whose career will serve as an appropriate introduction to the adventures of his eldest son, my father.

In the year 1756, when he was but sixteen years old, he was seized by a press-gang in the streets of Boston, and served for several years on board an English frigate. She was first under the command of a very gentlemanly

officer, who was beloved by his crew, and who afterwards became Sir William Trelawney, Governor of Jamaica.

He was succeeded by a contemptible dandy, who, among other acts which excited the ire of his crew, used to go at night in disguise between decks to overhear their remarks upon himself. On one occasion he was recognized by one of the men by the dim light of a lantern, and, springing from his hammock and calling him by the name of one of his shipmates with whom he pretended to have had a difficulty, he gave him such a thrashing that he kept his bed for a fortnight, and was, of course, ashamed to make known the cause of his sudden illness.

My grandfather's service in the British navy was during the "old French war," and the ship to which he was attached was for a time one of a squadron watching a French fleet in one of the Channel ports. He was promoted to be captain of the foretop, and afterwards midshipman. After his discharge and return home he entered the merchant service, and became not only an accomplished seaman, but, as I have often heard my father say, he seemed to have an intuitive skill in naval architecture, and a better knowledge of proportions in the building, sparring, and rigging of ships than any man he ever knew.

This knowledge was turned to account in a most efficient manner in the service of his country in her most trying days. His advice and assistance were in constant demand for the construction and fitting-out of the privateers.

The brig *Pilgrim* was built under his sole direction, and proved one of the fastest as well as most successful of the whole Salem fleet. She captured and sent in more than fifty prizes, and was finally run ashore on Cape Cod to escape capture by the *Chatham*, a frigate of sixty guns.

He was finally commissioned by the Continental government, and sent to Bordeaux in command of the brig *Despatch*, to procure arms and military stores.

The date of his commission is August 8, 1776, only thirty-five days after the Declaration of Independence, so that it must have been one of the earliest naval commissions issued by the Continental government. It is signed by John Hancock, and was accompanied by a minute letter of instructions from a committee of Congress, of which Benjamin Franklin was chairman. He was the first to display the American flag on a government vessel in a European port, and was much feted and caressed during his stay in Bordeaux.

A curious illustration of the necessities to which the country was reduced is afforded by the fact that, as we had then neither money nor credit, he carried out a cargo of oil, fish, and potash, and made his purchases with the proceeds. He accomplished his object successfully, after two narrow escapes from capture on his return.

The spirit of active enterprise engendered by the war found vent, when peace returned, in the opening of new channels of commerce. The merchants of Salem then found themselves in possession of a fleet of vessels which had been built expressly for privateers, and were much too large for the short voyages to which they had hereto-

fore been restricted, and they entered at once upon the commercial career of which, for a period of forty years, they held the monopoly. The effect of this active rivalry upon the social character of the town was so marked, and is so pertinent to my present subject, that I feel warranted in quoting the following from a very interesting paper prepared by the Rev. George Bachelor:

"The foreign commerce which sprang up in the last century in Salem was the cause of a wonderful intellectual and moral stimulus, not yet spent. After a century of comparative quiet, the citizens of this little town were suddenly dispersed to every part of the Oriental world, and to every nook of barbarism which had a market and a shore. The borders of the commercial world received sudden enlargement, and the boundaries of the intellectual world underwent a similar expansion. This reward of enterprise might be the discovery of an island in which wild pepper enough to load a ship might be had almost for the asking, or of forests where precious gums had no commercial value, or spice islands, unvisited and unvexed by civilization. Every shipmaster and every mariner returning on a richly loaded ship was the owner of valuable knowledge. In those days crews were made up of Salem boys, every one of whom expected to become an East India merchant. When a captain was asked at Manilla how he contrived to find his way in the teeth of a northeast monsoon by mere dead-reckoning, he replied that he had a crew of twelve men, any one of whom could take and work a lunar observation as well, for all practical purposes, as Sir Isaac Newton himself.

"This crew had in Nathaniel Bowditch an uncommon supercargo. But it would be difficult now to find a crew of common sailors who, even under such a teacher, would willingly master the mysteries of tangents and secants, dip and refraction, sines and cosines.

"When, in 1816, George Crowninshield coasted the Mediterranean in the *Cleopatra's Barge*, a magnificent yacht of one hundred and ninety-seven tons, which excited the wonder even of the Genoese, the black cook, who had once sailed with Bowditch, was found to be as competent to keep a ship's reckoning as any of the officers.

"Rival merchants sometimes drove the work of preparation night and day, when virgin markets had favors to be won, and ships which set out for unknown ports were watched when they slipped their cables and sailed away by night, and dogged for months on the high seas, in the hope of discovering the secret, well kept by owner and crew. Every man on board was allowed a certain space for his own little venture. People in other pursuits, not excepting the merchant's minister, intrusted their savings to the supercargo, and watched eagerly the result of their adventure. This great mental activity, the profuse stores of knowledge brought by every ship's crew and distributed, together with India shawls, blue china, and unheard-of curiosities from every savage shore, gave the community a rare alertness of intellect."

Salem ships led the way round the Cape of Good Hope to the Isle of France, India, and China. They were the first to display the American flag and open trade at Calcutta, Bombay, Sumatra, Zanzibar, Madagascar, Australia, Batavia, Mocha, and St. Petersburg. The adventures of her brave mariners in unknown seas, their encounters with pirates and savage tribes, their hairbreadth escapes, their tales of imprisonment and suffering in the prisons of France, Spain, and South America, would make a story which could not be surpassed in romantic and pathetic interest. The adventures described in the following pages may serve as a sample in proof of the above assertion. They afford an illustration of the effect of such experiences in giving a marked character to a community of which the hero is a type.

His own "Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises" was published in Boston in 1842, and went through three editions in this country, and was republished in England. It was reviewed in all the leading periodicals of both countries in terms of the highest

commendation, not only of the intrinsic interest of the adventures described, but of the beauty of the style, which was compared with that of Defoe. It has long been out of print, however; and, although it may be found in many of the principal libraries of the country, and no one can read it without acknowledging its absorbing interest, very few of the present generation of readers are aware of its existence.

It is obvious, however, that a narrative partaking so much of the nature of an autobiography must necessarily be devoid of the personal details which are often essential features in such a story when told by another, while the fact that, at the time of its publication, many of those with whom the author had been associated were still living, precluded many allusions to persons and events which would greatly enhance the interest of the story. These obstacles have been removed by the lapse of time. None of his contemporaries are left, and those who knew and loved him in his old age, when they themselves were young, are now far advanced in life. No one is now living who will be affected by the mention of names which it would then have been indelicate to make public, and no injury can now accrue from laying bare the secret springs of actions which it was then inexpedient to expose. Above all, the personal character of the chief actor may now, with propriety, be made the object of central interest, and the traits which win the affection may be shown to have formed quite as important an element of its composition as those which excite only admiration.

The materials for such illustration are in my posses-

sion in the form of journals and letters, which often reveal such a personal connection with the incidents of the narrative as adds very greatly to their interest.

Abundant material for further elucidation of the subject might be drawn from the archives of the Essex Institute, and the wonderful collection of interesting objects in the museum of the Salem East India Marine Society would furnish means of elaborate illustration from every quarter, and especially from the least-known regions, of the globe.

Having given this account of my father's father, it is fitting that I should add that his wife—my grandmother—was Margaret Jeffry, one of a highly respectable family, of whom no representative is left in Salem, though the name is preserved in connection with a court running out of Washington Street, which was part of the garden in the rear of the family residence, on Essex Street, opposite the First Church. A quaint, but beautiful, miniature in my possession justifies the description given of her as a very charming and attractive woman; and her death, in 1784, at the age of thirty-seven, so preyed upon her husband that it seemed to incapacitate him from further exertion. My father alludes most feelingly to this event in a letter written to me late in life, soon after the publication of his narrative. In reply to some remarks of mine on the trials and disappointments therein detailed, he says:

"These were as dust in the balance compared to the affliction I was early called upon to suffer. I allude to my dear mother's death when I had only reached my tenth year, just the period when I had sufficient reflection to be sensible of our loss; just the season when

the sensibility is most delicately acute. All the circumstances connected with this gloomy period are so profoundly engraven on my memory as never to be obliterated. I suppose it was known to her attendants that my mother could not recover, but I was unconscious of it, when, on an evening, between daylight and dark, as my brother William and I were playing at ball in the yard, my aunt Nancy came to the door and said, 'Come in, boys, your mother is dying.' Words are inadequate to convey an idea of the anguish I suffered on this announcement. Scarcely had the excess of grief a little subsided, when it was renewed by the dismal business of the funeral obsequies. Dr. Prince, while praying, was so overcome by his emotions that it was with difficulty he succeeded in finishing the prayer. It was customary in those days for the body to be carried on the shoulders of men, and six or eight pall-holders to walk on each side the coffin, the mourners being arranged in the procession in accordance with the degree of alliance to the deceased. Of course, my poor father, who was almost distracted, walked first, and his two eldest sons next. Arrived at the grave, as if these circumstances were not already sufficiently harrowing, it was necessary to wait near it till the coffin was deposited and some gravel thrown upon it. At the moment this gravel rattled upon the coffin my father uttered a groan which, it appears to me, I can hear even now. For many weeks after this sad scene I never slept till I had wet my pillow with my tears. For many months after, a mark on my handkerchief, a patch on my clothes, the frill of my shirt, anything of the handiwork of my dear mother, would awaken the sense of my loss; and for years afterwards I never heard the bell of the First Church toll without its bringing the sad scene before me. During many weeks after the funeral my father shut himself up, and would see nobody except his children; and this, as was natural, had a tendency to increase my grief."

The despondency which resulted from the death of his wife was so great that my grandfather never recovered from its effects. His property, as a consequence, became so reduced that the necessity of providing for him was a chief incentive to my father's early efforts to

secure an independence. The urgent tones in which—as will be seen—he entreats his father, in his letters, to make use of his means or credit without reserve or hesitation, afford sufficient evidence of his filial affection and his generous nature.

NOTE.—The preceding chapter was written some years since, and, of course, before the name of Grover Cleveland had been suggested for the high office to which he has since been elected. As the elements of sterling integrity and unflinching courage which have marked his administration were no less conspicuous in the character of the hero of the following story, the fact will possess interest, especially to those who have faith in the law of heredity, that the great-grandfather of the President, the Rev. Aaron Cleveland of Norwich, Conn., was the brother of my grandfather, Stephen Cleveland, of whom I have given the above account.

Chicago, Dec., 1885.

CHAPTER II.

Early Years.—Cultivation of Commercial Tastes.—First Voyage.—Voyage with Captain Silsbee.—Letters to his Father.—Voyage from Havre to Cape of Good Hope.—Interest Excited by his Arrival.

My father, Richard Jeffry Cleveland, the eldest child of Stephen and Margaret Jeffry Cleveland, was born in Salem, Dec. 19, 1773. He had three brothers younger than himself, two of whom—William and George—were for many years merchant navigators in the East India trade from that port. They afterwards held, in succession, the office of president of the Commercial Insurance Company, and George was also president of the East India Marine Society, a charitable association composed of navigators engaged in that trade. It is simply a just tribute to their memory to say that no men ever stood higher in the estimation of their fellow-citizens, or were regarded with warmer feelings of affection by those who knew them best, than these two brothers. At the age of fourteen my father entered the counting-house of Elias Hasket Derby, where he remained four years, and acquired not only the merely technical elements of mercantile education, but an accurate knowledge and love of naval affairs, and a taste for commercial adventure. This last was wisely fostered by Mr. Derby, who allowed his employees to become in-

terested in the voyages of his ships by sending small adventures on their own account. Even the seamen were each allowed a privilege of eight hundred pounds freight, and the officers a proportionally larger amount. The building and despatching of ships to different quarters of the globe was so constantly in progress that it afforded the best possible opportunity for studying and comparing their relative qualities, while the interest in their performance and in the results of their voyages was sustained by daily conversation and discussion, in which every participant had a personal stake. Indeed, his love for the sea may be traced to a yet earlier stage, as he has told me that his favorite sport when a boy was sailing about Salem harbor in a leaky boat, which he hired at sixpence a week.

When only eighteen he went on his first voyage, impelled thereto by the wish to provide for his father, and the earliest of his letters in my possession, written to his father from the Cape of Good Hope, April 20, 1792, contains these words, which every father will appreciate:

"I long to hear how your lawsuit is settled, the event of which causes me much anxiety; but, if you should lose it, it must be a consolation to you that your children are ambitious boys, who, with such an education as is to be had in the public schools of Salem, can soon provide for themselves and their father also; and I am sure you cannot doubt the pleasure it would give us; but God forbid you should ever be in such circumstances as to want it."

His earliest voyages were made in the capacity of captain's clerk, under the command of Nathaniel Silsbee, who had been his fellow-clerk in Mr. Derby's counting-room, and was subsequently, for many years, senator

from Massachusetts. He was but little older than my father, and their friendship was of lifelong duration. Of one of these voyages, of nineteen months' duration, to the Cape of Good Hope and the Isles of France and Bourbon, at a time when the wars of the great powers of Europe rendered navigation precarious, and often demanded the skill of the diplomatist as well as that of the mariner, he says, at its conclusion,

"The voyage, thus happily accomplished, may be regarded, when taken in all its bearings, as a very remarkable one; first, from the extreme youth of all to whom its management had been intrusted—Captain Silsbee was not twenty years old; the chief mate, Charles Derby, was but nineteen; and the second mate, who was discharged at the Isle of France, and whose place I subsequently filled, was but twenty-four. Secondly, from the foresight, ingenuity, and adroitness manifested in averting and escaping dangers; in perceiving advantages, and turning them to the best account; and, thirdly, from the great success attending this judicious management, as demonstrated by the fact of returning to the owner four or five times the amount of the original capital. Mr. Derby used to call us his boys, and boast of our achievements; and well might he do so, for it is not probable that the annals of the world can furnish another example of an enterprise of such magnitude, requiring the exercise of so much judgment and skill, being conducted by so young a man, aided only by still younger advisers, and accomplished with the most entire success."

His letters to his father, in all his early voyages, give evidence of such self-confident ambition as is essential to success, and show, at the same time, that he was actuated only by generous motives. The following passages, taken from different letters, between the years 1795 and 1797, are of this character:

"If I go only short voyages, you may depend upon as large a remittance as I can possibly make, at least once a year, and I hope I

shall soon have it in my power to supply you bountifully, which is my only ambition."

"I enclose bills of exchange for £180 sterling ($900), and I hope you will not hesitate to take up money on my account, for be assured, while I possess one dollar, three fourths of it shall be at your service."

In 1797, having made one previous voyage in command of the bark *Enterprise*, belonging to E. H. Derby, Jr., he sailed again in the same vessel for Europe, whence, after disposing of his cargo, he was to go to Mocha for a cargo of coffee; and was anticipating, with satisfaction, the prospect of being the first to display the American flag in that port. He was proportionately disappointed when, soon after his arrival at Havre, he received notice that circumstances rendered it necessary to abandon the voyage, and return the property to the owner, with as little delay as possible. Knowing that his return home would involve the loss of a good deal of time before he could hope to be again employed—owing to the general stagnation of business—he sent the ship home under the charge of the mate, and began, at Havre, the first of the daring enterprises which he subsequently followed up with such marked success.

The danger they involved was not encountered as an act of bravado. They had always an object which he deemed worthy of the risk, and that object was successfully accomplished.

The following letter contains the first intimation of his intention. At the time it was written he was three months short of twenty-four years of age:

"HAVRE, *September* 19, 1797.

"When I was upon the point of embarking for home, and, in imagination, was shaking hands with my friends, an unexpected offer, upon advantageous terms, of such a vessel as I have been looking out for, determined me to alter my course, and add a few months to the many I have already been absent, concluding that if I came home from hence I must unavoidably (in the present state of affairs) remain at least six or eight months unemployed, which, in addition to the time I have already lost, would be very unpleasant.

"I, therefore, determined to accept this offer, choosing to risk all in endeavoring to do something rather than spending moderately and living lazily at home. To explain myself then: I have purchased a cutter-sloop, of forty-three tons' burden, on a credit of two years. This vessel was built at Dieppe, and fitted out for a privateer; was taken by the English, and has been plying between Dover and Calais as a packet-boat. She has elegant accommodations, and sails fast. I shall copper her, put her in ballast, trim with £1000 or £1500 sterling, in cargo, and proceed to the Isle of France and Bourbon, where I expect to sell her, as well as the cargo, at a very handsome profit, and have no doubt of being well paid for my twelve months' work, calculating to be with you next August.

"I have written to Uncle James respecting my account with Mr. Derby; have drawn bills in his favor for the balance, and advised him how I wish it disposed of. Should you be in want of cash before my return, do not hesitate to make use of my credit, so far as it will go. I will pay principal and any (the most exorbitant) interest on any money you find it necessary to take up; and, although I know there is no risk in the bills I forwarded you on Mr. Haven of Portsmouth, N. H., for $900, except their having miscarried, yet I should feel easier if I knew you had the money.

"Since I wrote you last I have spent a month in Paris, and am very much pleased with that great capital. I prefer it to London, notwithstanding I have some of that foolish American partiality for everything that is English.

"I left it ten days before this last surprising revolution, or, rather, tyrannical usurpation of the Jacobinical party.

"I fear it will be many years before this country will enjoy such internal tranquillity as America is blessed with."

It will be seen that he designates his vessel in this letter as a "cutter-sloop of forty-three tons." As the English cutter of that date is a rig that is unknown with us, it is proper to state that its peculiarity consisted of a horizontal bowsprit, made to reef by sliding in on the deck. It was in a similar vessel that he subsequently made the voyage from Canton to the northwest coast of America.

I continue the extracts from his letters, which give the main incidents of his experiences, and serve also to give a vivid conception of his personal character:

"HAVRE, *October* 25, 1797.

"To-morrow I shall leave this for the Isle of France in my cutter, which, I assure you, is very handsome, and, I don't doubt, will sell for a good price.

"Before I sell her I shall spend probably four or five months freighting about the Isle of Bourbon, waiting a favorable opportunity to wind up the voyage.

"It would have given me pleasure to have returned home and helped Bill or George to a berth on board a ship, but I must first have charge of said ship, which, at the present moment, I suspect is a charge difficult to obtain in America. It would certainly be very imprudent in any merchant at this time to send a ship on a long voyage, and I have no idea there will be any business of consequence done in America for five or six months to come; consequently I am induced to believe that you, as well as Mr. Derby, will approve of this undertaking. I have certainly a prospect of doing something handsome, and to have rejected such a liberal credit as was offered me would have been madness.

* * * * * * * *

"By the above opportunity I wrote to Uncle James, enclosing bills on Mr. Derby for the balance of my account . . . of which I desired him to pay you $200. This small supply, in addition to the bill I sent you from London for $900, will doubtless keep you in cash for some months; and when out, if my credit is good for

anything at home, I shall be mortified if you don't make use of it; and, if necessary, this letter may be given as my promissory note to pay any debts you may contract on my account. I can have no greater pleasure than in discharging them.

"Of the insurance on this voyage, if £300 or £400 can be covered at ten, or even twelve, per cent., I have no objection to having it done, but have no idea of giving a higher premium, and choose rather to take the risk myself. It should be made on the vessel—the sloop *Caroline* of Salem—a French bottom, but with papers in complete order, and manned with Americans. We are bound direct for the Isles of France and Bourbon. Before you make this insurance Captain Rich will inform you of many particulars respecting the vessel which may have a tendency to lessen the premium, and which it is very necessary the underwriters should know.

"Since I have undertaken this business one of the first houses in this place has offered to fit out a ship purposely for me, and put in a rich cargo, but I had gone so far in the present speculation that it was too late. This may perhaps convince you that my time here has not been entirely misspent. On the contrary, I think I have formed such acquaintances here as may be of great service to me should I fail of finding employment in America, which, by-the-bye, I only expect will be the case while the state of political affairs is such as to make it dangerous to do anything on a large scale. Such, I think, is the case at present, or I should have returned home from hence in expectation of being again employed by E. H. Derby, Jr., than which nothing could have been more gratifying to me; and, *positively*, while he will give me two thirds as much as any other merchant, I will sail for no other.

"When I shall meet my friends in Salem again is very uncertain. The prospect at present is very distant; but I hope it will not be more than twelve or fourteen months. 'Tis a long time to look forward, and I know you wish it were passed as well as myself.

"I can't help loving home, though I think a young man ought to be at home in any part of the globe; but few persons have so many valuable friends to regret being absent from as I have."

"P. S.—By a letter from Paris, received this day by Mr. Prince, it appears that the American Commissioners have delivered their

credentials twelve days ago, but have not yet received any answer from the Directory, which is considered a bad omen.

"Should a war take place between France and America while I am at the Mauritius, to secure my property I must become an inhabitant, which I have no objection to for a little while, provided I can improve my time advantageously. I shall have no other anxiety than that of not knowing whether you have a necessary supply of cash.

"October 28th.—A head wind has detained me till to-day. We have official accounts of the definitive treaty with the emperor being signed. The defeat of the Dutch fleet you will undoubtedly have heard of before this reaches you."

The allusion in this letter to the "particulars respecting the vessel which may have a tendency to lessen the premium," and which were to be communicated by Captain Rich, demands explanation.

The fact was that he carried despatches from the Directory to the ruling powers at the Isle of France, and was provided with a passport which secured him from molestation by French ships of war or privateers.

He records the fact in his narrative that this passport proved an efficient safeguard on one occasion when he was brought to, after a long chase, by a French privateer, by which he was hailed in insulting terms; but a sight of the documents he bore caused a very sudden change of tone, and an immediate abandonment of any attempt at detention.

The next letter gives an account of his first experience on the voyage:

"HAVRE, *November* 25, 1797.

"My last was by the *Nymph* of New York, whose sudden departure left me only time to tell you I had been shipwrecked, and as I am confident you will wish to hear the particulars, I will now relate them to you.

"I left here on Tuesday at eleven o'clock, with a very strong N.E. wind, so fresh that when abreast the lighthouse I was obliged to balance-reef the mainsail and set the smallest jib, which, with the foresail, was as much as she would bear. I found it necessary to carry as much sail as possible, as otherwise we could not double Cape Barfleur, as the wind had already come round as far as N.N.E., and, increasing, caused such a sea as (our little vessel being deep loaded) kept her most of the time under water. At eight o'clock in the evening, the wind and sea still increasing, the bowsprit went by the board, and before we could clear the wreck of that, the foresail split half-way up and down the back rope.

"My object then was to regain Havre, but my sailors, not being used to the motion of so small a vessel, were all (as well as myself) sea-sick, which, together with the fatigue we had undergone, rendered us unable to use such exertions as we could have done if we had been more used to the vessel. However, we made out to get her head towards Havre, and, in the morning, I found we were much to leeward of it.

"Without anything for a spare bowsprit, I knew from the leeway we had already made that it would be impossible to keep off shore another night. I had then no other alternative but to try to enter the river Caen, but, when we reached the entrance, we found the tide was so far out that there was not water enough, and the sea broke at least a mile from shore. I then let go both anchors in about ten fathoms of water, in the hope that they might hold her till high water, but the cables soon parted, and, of course, we ran ashore near the village of Oestrahan. The alarm-gun had been fired at the fort, and the country people came quickly to our assistance. We all left the vessel, in expectation that she would soon go to pieces, and were conducted to the fort, where a large, comfortable fire was made, by which to shift and dry ourselves. This was Wednesday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and was the first time any of us had had a dry thread on since twelve o'clock of the preceding day. I put up at an inn about a mile from where my vessel lay; but my limbs were so swollen and painful, and my mind so tormented with the thought of having lost so much more than my all, that, as you may suppose, I did not pass a very comfortable night. In the morning I was agreeably surprised to find, not only

that my vessel had not gone to pieces, but that she was so little injured that by unlading she might be got off, and put in proper condition to go to Havre; which was soon accomplished, leaving part of the cargo with my mate to be freighted over.

"We are now repaired and ready for sea, with a loss to me of about $500. The principal loss on the cargo is occasioned by the several transportations. My credit, however, has not suffered in the least on this account, for I have not only found enough to repair the damages, but shall put in $1000 more, so that my cargo (although in a vessel of only forty tons) will amount to $7000. I now only wait for a wind to put to sea again.

"You may judge from these particulars whether I am to blame or not, and you will undoubtedly say I am, for not returning to Havre the afternoon of the day I left there, but my foolish pride would not suffer it.

"I must tell you that I never met such real friendship as I have from your old friend James Prince, who not only took me to his house, and begged me not to be discouraged, but immediately came forward with the ready cash to any amount I asked for. I believe him to be an exception to the general rule that we do good from selfish motives.

"In my last I requested that £700 or £800 might be insured on my vessel if it could be done at twelve per cent. I now repeat it, but would not advise giving a higher premium. After my arrival at the Isle of France or Bourbon it is very uncertain which way I shall bend my course. If I meet with a ready sale for my sloop and cargo, and can find a freight to Europe or America for a ship of three or four hundred tons, and can readily purchase such a vessel, I shall do it; but if this cannot be done, I shall either employ my vessel in freighting, or make a trip to the Cape of Good Hope with a load of coffee, sell for dollars, and go to Mocha for another load for the Cape, and thence to the Mauritius, by which time I shall probably have collected such a property as will enable me to undertake something on a large scale.

"The performance of these operations (if successful) will take up so much time that, long before I can arrive in America, the supplies of money I have sent you must be exhausted, and unless I meet with a very favorable opportunity to make a remittance (which, if I go to

Mocha, is not probable) you will not count upon it, nor do I think it will be necessary, as you can easily get what funds you need with such security as a policy of insurance of £700 or £800; and here let me repeat what I have so often said, that I can receive no higher gratification than in supplying you, nor, on the contrary, is there anything that would mortify me more than that you should hesitate at making such use of my credit.

"Of politics you know I never say much, but I cannot help observing that everything between France and America wears a very serious aspect. They treat the Americans with marked contempt, and I much fear the issue."

The confident tone in which he speaks in this letter of his future operations shows how little he had been affected by the misfortune which befell him at the outset. But it will be seen by the next extract that the people on whom he had to depend for making up his crew, in Havre, entertained a very different opinion of the probable result of the voyage.

His characteristic self-reliance is manifested by his indifference to the fears expressed by those who were less at home on the ocean, as well as by his putting to sea with the incompetent crew of which he gives so ludicrous a description.

The London *Literary Examiner* of September 24, 1842, in an extended review of his "Narrative," says, of the description he there gives of this voyage:

"Few things in De Foe, Dana, or any other truthteller are more characteristic than Mr. Cleveland's account of his voyage from Havre to the Cape of Good Hope. Surely never before was there such an Indiaman, with such a cargo and such a crew."

And the review concludes as follows:

"We have dwelt on the circumstances of his first start because it at once illustrates the courage and daring of the narrator.

"His capital talent for description—quiet, forcible, and unexaggerated—would be more quickly recognized if our space admitted of the quotations we would gladly have given from the detailed incidents of the voyage."

Reading between the lines of the following letter, we may discover a further evidence of character, which was not perceptible to the above writer, and was not revealed in the published account of the voyage.

It will be seen that the letter is written as he was nearing the Cape of Good Hope, yet he makes no allusion to the peril he incurred by stopping there, and the wisdom of such caution was made manifest on his arrival, by the very strict search and examination of his papers, to which he was immediately subjected.

His stopping there was a matter of necessity, as the rats had gnawed his water-casks and he was forced to lay in a new supply. Before his arrival he had carefully concealed the despatches he bore, and no evidence was discovered that any cause existed for his detention.

Yet the authorities at the Cape were so well convinced that such a voyage would not have been attempted except on some secret service of the French government, that they deemed it necessary to prevent its consummation, and as no legitimate charge for condemnation could be found, they bought his vessel of him at a liberal advance on her cost, and she was immediately put in service under command of a lieutenant of the royal navy. He probably was unused to the management of so small a craft, for he was never heard of after his departure on his first voyage.

These facts will serve to throw much light on the following letter, begun at sea and finished after his arrival at the Cape:

"ON BOARD CUTTER 'CAROLINE': At Sea, *March* 20, 1798.

"As we are now within a few hundred miles of the Cape, where we must touch for water, I take time by the forelock to have a letter ready to send you on arrival, well knowing that I shall after that have no time for writing.

"Should you happen to see any person from Havre, who was candid enough to give you the general opinion entertained there of the ability of my cutter to weather this passage, you will no doubt be somewhat anxious till you hear from me. They concluded that we should founder in the first gale, from my vessel's being overloaded, and as these apprehensions were communicated to my men they would run away or feign sickness, and these aggravations, after the disaster I had already met with, required every iota of my small stock of philosophy to support, and it was not till the last hour that I was in Havre (even while the visiting officers were on board) that I finally shipped my crew.

"Fortunately, they were all so much in debt as not to want any time to spend their advance, but were ready at the instant; and with this motley crew (who, for aught I knew, were robbers or pirates) I put to sea. That you may form some idea of the fatigue and trouble I have had I will attempt to describe them to you.

"At the head of the list is my mate, a Nantucket lad, whom I persuaded the captain of a ship to discharge from before the mast, and who knew little or nothing of navigation, but is now capable of conducting the vessel in case of accident to me. The first of my foremast hands is a great, surly, crabbed, raw-boned, ignorant Prussian, who is so timid aloft that the mate has frequently been obliged to do his duty there.

"I believe him to be more of a soldier than a sailor, though he has often assured me that he has been boatswain's mate of a Dutch Indiaman, which I do not believe, as he hardly knows how to put two ends of a rope together. He speaks enough English to be tolerably understood.

"The next in point of consequence is my cook, a good-natured

negro and a tolerable cook, so unused to a vessel that in the smoothest weather he cannot walk fore and aft without holding on to something with both hands. This fear proceeds from the fact that he is so tall and slim that if he should get a cant it might be fatal to him. I did not think America could furnish such a specimen of the negro race (he is a native of Savannah), nor did I ever see such a perfect simpleton. It is impossible to teach him anything, and notwithstanding the frequency with which we have been obliged to take in and make sail on this long voyage, he can hardly tell the main-haliards from the mainstay. He one day took it into his head to learn the compass, and not being permitted to come on the quarter-deck to learn by the one in the binnacle, he took off the cover of the till of his chest, and with his knife cut out something that looked like a cartwheel, and wanted me to let him nail it on the deck to steer by, insisting that he could 'teer by him better 'n tudder one.'

"Next is an English boy of seventeen years old, who, from having lately had the small-pox, is feeble and almost blind, a miserable object, but pity for his misfortunes induces me to make his duty as easy as possible. Finally, I have a little ugly French boy, the very image of a baboon, who, from having served for some time on different privateers, has all the tricks of a veteran man-of-war's man, though only thirteen years old, and by having been in an English prison has learned enough of the language to be a proficient in swearing. To hear all these fellows quarrelling (which, from not understanding each other, they are very apt to do) serves to give one a realizing conception of the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel. Nobody need envy me my four months' experience with such a set, though they are now far better than when I first took them.

"Absence has not banished home from my thoughts; indeed, I should be worse than a savage were I to forget such friends as I have, yet such is now my roving disposition that were it not for meeting them, I doubt if I should ever return. My last news of you was by a scrap of paper tucked into one of Mr. Derby's letters by Uncle James, bearing simply the words, 'Your friends are all well. J. J.' Did he know but half the pleasure this scrap of paper gave me while it conveyed such welcome news, he would omit no opportunity of sending a similar line. I keep the letter folded as I re-

ceived it, and never open it without a revival of the sensations I experienced on its receipt.

"It seems not improbable that we may become involved in war, in which case, to secure my property, it may become necessary for me to become a *citoyen*. The French seem determined that we shall fight either them or the English, and although I am no advocate for the treaty which gives them such offence, yet should it be broken to please them, or should an apology be made (as they request) for any part of the president's independent speech, I should be ashamed in any foreign country to acknowledge myself an American. But these are sacrifices America cannot make. In my opinion the horrors of the most bloody war should be preferred.

"You may perhaps laugh at me and call it quixotism, but I believe if we would keep our ships at home, and entirely withhold our supplies, we could be more than a match for these two noisy powers united. I see no reason why we can't live for a time without foreign commerce.

"France by her amazing conquests having risen so rapidly to the height of strength and power, will, I expect, afford another example of human instability in as rapid a decline, for, can her citizens, already worn out with the length of the war, see themselves plunged so much deeper in it without uniting with some of those frequent conspiracies to reform the government? I think not, and it appears to me that nothing but such a reform can save us from war. If we go to war with France, Spain, without doubt, must come in for a share of it, and what a field would then be presented for conquest, for (supplied in part with ships by the English) we should soon become masters of the West India Islands, Louisiana and Florida could not resist us, and why might we not expect to establish the independence of South America, thereby opening a commerce which would prove a very lucrative one to our merchants, while it secures us an ally and weakens our enemy?

"Without doubt you will be surprised at my advancing an opinion on any political subject, but it is almost impossible to remain in Europe so long as I have, at the French crisis, without catching a little of the distemper; however, it has not taken such hold of me but that I can attend to other business, as a proof of which, and a fear that my letter is already too long, I will bring it to a close."

He arrived on the 21st of March, 1798, three months from the time of leaving Havre, and although it was nearly 10 P. M. when he dropped anchor, he was immediately boarded by a man-of-war's boat, and he was taken ashore for an interview with the admiral, Sir Hugh Christian.

Of the popular interest excited by the appearance of his vessel he says, in his "Narrative:"

"The arrival of such a vessel from Europe naturally excited the curiosity of the inhabitants of the Cape; and, the next morning being calm, we had numerous visitors on board, who could not disguise their astonishment at the size of the vessel, the boyish appearance of the master and mate, the queer and unique characters of the two men and boy who composed the crew, and the length of the passage we had accomplished. Various were the conjectures of the good people of the Cape as to the real object of our enterprise. While some viewed it in its true light as a commercial speculation, others believed that, under this mask, we were employed by the French government for the conveyance of their despatches, and some even went so far as to declare their belief that we were French spies, and, as such, deserving of immediate arrest and confinement. Indeed, our enterprise formed the principal theme of conversation at the Cape during the week subsequent to our arrival."

The following letter gives a brief account of his experiences:

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, *March* 22, 1798.

"We arrived here at nine o'clock last evening, after the very long passage of eighty-nine days. Since leaving the equator we have had very unfavorable winds, or we should have made a good passage, as my cutter sails exceedingly well, and is as good a sea-boat as I ever was on board of.

"Our good friends, the English, concluded at once, on my arrival, that they had a prize. I was conducted on board a man-of-war, and thence ashore to the admiral, at ten o'clock the same evening I arrived. The most particular inquiries were made, and the next

day a strict search was made on board for papers. My waste-book, journal, private letters, and other papers were all taken ashore to the admiral, and all the letters I had for French gentlemen in the Mauritius were broken open. Such a strict search I never underwent before, though I believe I bore it with a tolerable grace.

"By Lord Macartney and the admiral (Sir Hugh Christian) I was treated very politely, but the extreme importance of the blustering lieutenants was in the highest degree disgusting. 'Tis a dangerous moment to express myself fully. Prudence dictates a reserve, and I shall obey her till I have the pleasure of meeting you.

"I have sold my cutter to the admiral for $5000, with permission to carry away $10,000. If my cargo had sold for as handsome advance on the cost as the vessel has I should have made a very handsome voyage, but this is not the case. The cargo will net little, if any, more than the original cost, and, from intelligence direct from the Mauritius, I am convinced that if I had gone there I should have met with considerable loss.

"I am exceedingly anxious to hear from home: whether we are now at peace or war, how the American navy goes on, from whence the officers are to come, whether we have a military school, and (what more nearly concerns me) whether Bill and George are in the navy or army, for I cannot conceive of their remaining neuter. On the contrary, I trust their ambition will lead them to be foremost in danger, considering life as a secondary object when engaged in the cause of justice and honor."

These two letters appear to me to possess such intrinsic interest, from the evidence of character they afford, that I have thought it best to give them in full, though they contain much that is irrelevant to the voyage. If we take into consideration the fact that the writer was then only twenty-four, that the only advantages of education he had enjoyed were those afforded by the common schools of Salem in the last century, and that he had left school at fourteen to enter a counting-room, from which, at eighteen, he had embarked on his first

voyage, it must be acknowledged that these letters are remarkable, alike for the intelligent thought and decision they display, and for the simplicity and ease of their style. And to this I may add that, like all his journals and letters, they are written in a hand which rivals copper-plate in the perfect symmetry of every line and letter.

Taken in connection with the successful accomplishment of the voyage, which so many had declared to be impossible, they furnish a very interesting illustration of the intellectual development which had been stimulated by the commercial activity of Salem.

The history of the arrangements for the sale of vessel and cargo, and their final result, cannot be better told than in the following extract from the published "Narrative:"

"The next day my papers and letters were returned to me by the secretary of the admiral, and I was surprised by a proposition from him for the purchase of the vessel. I delayed giving an immediate answer, and in the meantime my inquiries led me to believe that my cargo would sell advantageously; but there was nothing but specie that would answer my purpose to take away, and that was prohibited. With a provision for the removal of this difficulty, and a good price for my vessel, I was prepared to negotiate with the secretary. Meeting him at the time appointed, and both being what in trade is called off-hand men, we soon closed the bargain by his engaging to pay me, on delivery of the *Caroline* and stores, five thousand Spanish dollars, and to obtain for me permission to export ten thousand. This so far exceeded the cost of the vessel, and was even so much more than I had expected to receive at the Isle of France, that I considered myself well indemnified for all my trouble and anxiety.

"As the admiral was pressing to have the vessel discharged, it was my intention to land the cargo next day on my own account; but in the meantime I contracted with the merchant at whose house

I now resided, for the whole of it at a moderate advance on the invoice, it being agreed that he was to pay the duties, the expense of landing, etc. My spirits were now much elevated with my success, the prospect of soon being rid of the *Caroline*, and of the care inseparable from having such a vessel, so circumstanced.

"But new and alarming difficulties awaited me, of which I had no suspicion, and which were more harassing than the dangers of winds and waves. It appeared that the duties on entries at the custom-house were a percentage on the invoice, and that it was a very common practice with the merchants to make short entries. The purchaser of my cargo was aware that, to stand on equal footing with other merchants, he must do as they did; but he seems not to have reflected that, being known to be more hostile to the English government than any other individual at the Cape, he would be rigidly watched, and, if detected, would have less indulgence than any other. The consequence was a detection of the short entry and a seizure of vessel and cargo.

"The merchant went immediately, in a supplicating mood, to the collector, in the hope of arranging the affair before it should become generally known, but it was all in vain.

"The only alternative that seemed now to be left me was to appeal to the highest authority, and I determined to write to Lord Macartney, and prove to him that, by my contract for the sale of the cargo, the duties were not to be paid by me, and that, consequently, I should have derived no benefit had the attempt for evading them succeeded; but that, on the other hand, if the vessel and cargo were to be confiscated, I should be the sufferer, as it was doubtful if the merchant could make good the loss. I hoped he might thus be induced to advise a less severe course than the collector intended to pursue. But how to write a suitable letter embarrassed me. I had no friend with whom to advise. I was entirely ignorant of the proper manner of addressing a nobleman, and at the same time was aware of the necessity of conforming to customary rules. In this dilemma I remembered to have seen, in an old magazine on board my vessel, some letters addressed to noblemen. These I sought as models, and they were a useful guide to me. After completing my letter in my best hand, I enclosed it in a neat envelope and showed it to the admiral's secretary, who appeared to be friendly to me. He

approved of it, and advised my taking it myself to his lordship immediately.

"As the schoolboy approaches his master after having played truant, so did I approach Lord Macartney on this occasion. I delivered my letter to him, and, after hastily reading it, he sternly said that 'he could not interfere in the business; there were the laws, and if they had been infringed the parties concerned must abide the consequences;' but he added he 'would speak to the collector on the subject.' This last addition, delivered in rather a milder tone, led me to encourage the hope that the affair would not end so disastrously as if left entirely to the discretion of the collector. Nor were my hopes unfounded, as the next day the vessel and that part of the cargo yet remaining on board were restored to me; while the portion in the possession of the collector was to be adjudged in the fiscal court, where it was eventually condemned, to the amount of about $2000, which, as a favor to the merchant, I agreed to share with him. The success of my letter was the theme of public conversation in the town, and was the means of procuring me the acquaintance of several individuals of the first respectability.

"The delay caused by this controversy was unfavorable to the views of the admiral, who began to evince symptoms of impatience, and would probably have taken out the cargo with his own men if we had not set about it with earnestness as soon as the vessel was released from seizure. Having, the day following, completed the unlading, I delivered the vessel to the officer who was authorized to take possession. In two days after she was expedited, with a lieutenant of the navy in command and a competent number of men (I believe for India), and in a subsequent voyage I learned that she never had been heard of afterwards. It is probable that the officer in charge, having been accustomed only to large and square-rigged vessels, was not aware of the delicacy of management required by one so small and differently rigged, and to this her loss may be attributed.

"The various drawbacks on my cargo, arising from seizure, some damage, and some abatement, reduced the net proceeds to about the original cost. This, with the amount of the vessel, I collected in Spanish dollars, making altogether, after my various disbursements, the sum of $11,000, which I kept in readiness to embark on the first

vessel that should enter the bay on her way to India or China. I was obliged, however, to wait several months before any such chance offered. In the meantime my long residence and leisure at the Cape afforded me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with many families, and of visiting many places of interest in the vicinity of Cape Town "

CHAPTER III.

Voyage from China to the Northwest Coast of America.—Letters from Canton.—Difficulties of the Undertaking.—Hardships of the Voyage.—Mutiny of the Men.—Adventures on the Coast.—Safe Return to Canton.

ALTHOUGH the authorities at the Cape could discover no evidence that he was actually a bearer of despatches from the Directory, the measures they adopted served effectually to prevent their delivery.

It was more than four months before an opportunity offered to leave the Cape, and so long a time elapsed before he visited the Isle of France that the final delivery of the despatches to the authorities there served only to prove that he had been faithful to his trust. The following is his last letter before leaving the Cape:

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, *August* 1, 1798.

"Were you to judge from the date of my letter, you would undoubtedly conclude I was thus far on my return from India, and with reason, for no one would suppose it possible to remain in this place four months without meeting an opportunity for Bengal. This, however, has really been my case, whether from a decline of the American commerce, or a dislike of the masters of ships to subject themselves to the scrutiny practised by the officers of the navy, or both, I know not; but, in consequence of it, and a fear that it may be yet a long time before I meet such an opportunity as I wish, I have taken up with the only one that has offered, on board the brig *Betsey* of Baltimore, and we sail to-morrow morning for Batavia. I could have wished we were bound to a more pleasant

climate; but my patience was quite exhausted, and I preferred risking my health to waiting any longer here. I do not intend coming home before the spring or summer of 1799. Please advise my friend, Mr. James Prince, of my destination."

In his next letter from Batavia we have the first intimation of his contemplation of a voyage to the northwest coast of America, and in the succeeding one, from Canton, the announcement of his decision to attempt it. As this was one of his most adventurous voyages, involving certain exposure to very great hardship, with constant risk of destruction; and as the danger was incalculably increased by the circumstances attendant upon it, these letters possess especial interest, showing as they do his recognition of the difficulties he had to encounter, by the efforts he made to find other means of profitable investment, and his wish to save his friends from anxiety, by the pains he takes to assure them of his excellent equipment for the voyage.

The appreciation of its boldness in the minds of competent judges is afforded by the incidental testimony of an unprejudiced witness.

It happened that, on his arrival at Canton, after the successful accomplishment of the voyage, a Russian exploring expedition, under the command of Admiral Kruzenstern, was lying in port.

In his subsequently published history of the expedition the admiral mentions the fact of my father's arrival at Canton while he was there, and speaks of the voyage as a very extraordinary one.

He makes the mistake, however, of ascribing its achievement to an Englishman, which probably arose

from the fact that the vessel had previously been under English colors, and again assumed them on my father's return, when she was sold to an Englishman. The history of the Russian expedition was reviewed in the *North American*, of which Jared Sparks was then editor; and, in order to correct this mistake, he, being a warm personal friend of my father, procured from him a somewhat detailed account of the voyage, which may be found in No. 57 of the *North American Review* (October, 1827). It is introduced with the prefatory remark that—

"As this voyage was one of an extraordinary character, and evinced a degree of enterprise, perseverance, and decision rarely to be met with, and worthy of imitation, we are happy to have an opportunity to lay a short sketch of it before our readers."

After giving my father's account of its leading incidents, the notice concludes with the following comment:

"Thus was accomplished, in about eight months, one of the most arduous, successful, and, all things considered, hazardous voyages of which any account has been given."

At this date I trust that no apology is necessary for giving the following letters in full:

"BATAVIA, *September* 11, 1798.

"Before my departure from the Cape I left a few lines with Mr. Hubner, to inform you of my detention. It would give me great pleasure if I could now inform you of my speedy return from hence.

"Had I been fortunate enough to meet with a vessel that could take fifty or sixty tons freight to America or Europe, I should have made a very handsome voyage. Coffee can be purchased here at 8¾ cents per lb., American weight, deliverable on board; sugar at

$6.50 per cwt.; either of which articles would probably yield a profit of two hundred per cent. clear of all charges. But this prospect I am obliged to leave, or wait in this unhealthy climate at a great expense, without being certain of an opportunity. Of the two evils I have made choice of the former as the smallest, and shall sail to-morrow in the ship *Swift*, of New York, Captain White, for China. From thence I shall endeavor to freight for the Mauritius, if possible; if not, direct for America; and if neither of these can be done, I shall then probably purchase a small vessel and go to the northwest coast for furs; but this last I shall not do unless the prospect is very great, and there is no possibility of getting to America or Europe.

"The remittance I made you from Europe will not be near adequate to your wants, and were I not acquainted with the resources you have, I should be very uneasy on your account. I can easily conceive of its being disagreeable to you to take up money on my account, but, while you are doing it, you ought to recollect the pleasure I derive from discharging those debts. Were it not for this, money would hardly be worth taking care of. I hope to be with you in May next."

"CANTON, *November* 24, 1798.

"As there will be a direct opportunity to write you in about a month by a Salem and a Boston vessel, I intended to let this vessel go without writing, but recollecting, if I did, you would not expect my being here next year, and would, in consequence, miss the opportunity of sending me letters by the ships that will be leaving America about the time you will receive this, I hastened to remind you of it, and that I shall look out for letters by New York, Boston, or Salem vessels. I am now about two years absent from my friends, and have not received a line from any of them. Remind them of this, and I know they won't fail to write me.

"I endeavored to freight my property home to America, more with a desire of being again employed by Mr. E. H. Derby, Jr., than profit, or any other consideration; but my efforts were ineffectual without making too great sacrifices, and I had no other alternative than doing as I have done, which is to fit out an expedition to the northwest coast of America for furs.

"I am two-thirds concerned in a fine cutter, and the same propor-

tion of cargo. We shall be well manned and armed, and, I doubt not, meet with success. The prospect is considered greater at present than it has been for several years past. If Bill or George have become sailors, and are inclined to enter the fur trade, I doubt not of being able to do something for one of them; though it would not be prudent to come dependent on meeting me here, because, if I fail of success the first season, I shall winter on the coast. I shall write you very particularly by the Boston and Salem vessels."

"CANTON, *December* 15, 1798.

"I have written you two letters from this place, both of which will advise you that I am bound to the northwest coast of America.

"The only part I wish to repeat is concerning a provision for yourself. Do *anything* with me or my property rather than want. I know you have many warm friends in Salem, and I know how unpleasant it is to ask assistance of them; but, as it is only for the moment, and it is quite out of my power to make you a remittance, I do not see that you can do otherwise.

"I want exceedingly to see you and my valued friends in Salem, but my pride (for it is nothing else) will long deny me that happiness."

"CANTON, *January* 6, 1799.

"This is the last letter I shall write you this season, as I shall sail to-morrow for the northwest coast of America. We are thirty days earlier than I at first intended, in consequence of hearing of several vessels from America on the same voyage; and have so enlarged our stock as to make it amount to $18,600. Should we not be the first vessel on the coast, I am persuaded we shall do as well as those that are.

"We have every possible advantage. A vessel well calculated for inland navigation, the best articles of trade that can be carried, a linguist who speaks the Indian language as well as his own, and officers experienced in the business. Should we fail of success, with all these advantages, it will be very extraordinary ill-fortune, and such as I don't choose to expect.

"I wrote you a long letter by the *Elizabeth*, and desired you to use my credit for any money you may want; and even to sell out a part or the whole of my present speculation rather than be distressed.

"Should your other sources fail, I insist that you do anything with me or mine rather than want. Should Bill or George come to China, and my first voyage prove successful, I could give one of them a berth on board my cutter; and when I leave her, which I expect to do after two seasons, will leave the consignments with the one who chooses the business."

It will be seen in this last letter that he dwells upon the encouraging features of the undertaking, but makes no allusion to the circumstances which would have deterred most men from attempting it, and of which he must have been fully aware, even if he had not been warned of them by veteran navigators, who regarded the attempt as the wild scheme of an inexperienced youth of twenty-five.

It is proper that these circumstances should be fully stated, in order that they may be appreciated by those who are ignorant of the technical obstacles he had to encounter. The first and most important of these was the fact that, until he could weather the northern end of Formosa, his course was directly in the teeth of the northeast monsoon, which at that season blew almost incessantly, and often with great violence, and would have rendered the voyage, in a square-rigged vessel, an impossibility. This difficulty would have been removed could he have waited a month later, as he first intended; but the news that ships had sailed from Boston for the same object rendered the necessity of being early upon the coast an essential condition of success. His theory was that, in his small fore-and-aft-rigged vessel—which will run several points nearer the wind than a square rig—he could beat up the coast of China, keeping so near the

shore that he could run in and come to anchor when the weather was so tempestuous that he could make no headway against it. But this, of course, exposed him to such danger of shipwreck as he would have escaped on the open ocean, with plenty of sea-room; and this danger was greatly enhanced by the fact that no accurate chart of the coast could be procured, and the nearest approach to it he was able to get was a manuscript map, drawn for him by a navigator who had some familiarity with its features. For the performance of such duties as would be required, it was eminently desirable that his crew should be composed of orderly, reliable, and efficient seamen, and the risk of capture by the Indians, after arriving on the coast of America, made it necessary to carry a much larger crew than the ordinary complement of a vessel of that size. The only men that could be had, however, were of the worst class—the deserters from other vessels, who were hanging about Canton, ready to take up with any means of egress that offered. It is, perhaps, difficult, at this day, for a mariner whose experience of ocean life has been gained under the light of modern science, and with the aid of modern appliances and inventions, to appreciate the difficulty, danger, and hardship of such a voyage, or the courage and determined will required for its successful execution. He sailed from Canton on the 10th of January, 1799, passing Macão at four P.M. on the same day, and keeping a long distance from the shipping, lest some of his men might be reclaimed by the ships from which they had deserted.

I do not propose to repeat the details of the voyage,

which has been so well told in his "Narrative." His journal of each day's experience is in my possession, and also a manuscript of twenty-eight pages of letter-sheet, written at sea, when on his return, for the entertainment of his father, giving a full account of all his experiences; and the performance of the voyage itself is scarcely less wonderful than the fact that, under all the difficulties of the situation, both journal and manuscript are executed in a hand like copper-plate, such as not one man in a thousand could equal with every appliance for skilful penmanship. Yet this was long before the invention of metallic pens, and, to his latest day, my father disdained their use, and adhered to the goose-quill. A few extracts from these manuscripts, written at the time, and without a thought of their ever being made public, will serve to show some of the characteristics which, in reality, formed the groundwork of his success. Thus, in the account of the voyage written for his father's amusement, the opening passage shows clearly how fully he was aware of the difficulties he had to encounter, and how carefully he had considered his means of coping with them:

"I think you were informed, by one of my last letters from China, of my determination to sail from thence earlier than I at first intended, in consequence of hearing of several vessels fitting out for a similar voyage from America; and to this I am indebted for the success of my voyage, as I shall show you in course. It was, however, contrary to the advice of my best friends, and the most experienced navigators in those seas, some of whom took considerable pains to dissuade me from it by telling me that, as it was at the height of the northeast monsoon, there would be a continual rapid current against me, and frequent gales of wind; that I might beat a

month without gaining any to windward, and should finally return —if at all—with my sails and rigging torn to pieces, to refit. I was, as you will imagine, not pleased with such gloomy prospects, but concluded that, if I was to meet ruin, it might as well be by being torn to pieces on the China coast as to arrive on the coast of America after the object of my voyage had been secured by other vessels. I was the more encouraged to make the trial as I could not learn that it had ever been attempted at the same season of the year by any European; therefore my advisers could not be certain of its impracticability. I knew, also, that they supposed I should keep at—what is generally called—a prudent distance from the shore, and did not conceive that any man would beat up, for the most part, within hail of an extensive, dangerous coast, not only without having any experience along it, but with no other guide than an imperfect manuscript chart.

"The handiness of my vessel and her easy draught of water led me to do this, in the expectation that I should meet with regular tides, and that, when they were against me, I should often be able to anchor, and on this I principally depended for the accomplishment of this arduous task. On the 10th January, 1799, having all hands on board, in number twenty-one persons, consisting — except two Americans—of English, Irish, Swedes, and French, but principally the first, who were runaways from the men-of-war and Indiamen, and two from a Botany Bay ship, who had made their escape—for we were obliged to take such as we could get—served to complete a list of as accomplished villains as ever disgraced any country. I weighed anchor from Anson's Bay at eight A.M., with a fresh breeze from the northeast, and cloudy, unpleasant weather, passing Macao Roads at four P.M. at a considerable distance, fearing to go within gunshot of the shipping, lest they should bring us to and take our men out, many of whom belonged to these very ships."

Three weeks of incessant labor, hardship, and exposure proved that the terrors of the voyage had not been exaggerated. Beating up against the wind whenever a favorable tide or a temporary diminution in its violence enabled them to do so, yet often finding themselves, at

night, abreast, and sometimes leagues to leeward of, the point they had left in the morning; running in to anchor at night at any harbor they could make, and availing themselves, in doing so, of the information they could get from the fishermen or proprietors of the junks, of which they often found large fleets at anchor in the harbors; several times having hair-breadth escapes from sunken rocks, on which they touched or passed close by in ignorance, and so continually wet through that the labor of carrying clothes up into the rigging to dry was unremitting, caused such suffering and depression in the crew as finally to break out in open mutiny.

A single extract will serve as a sample of the experiences so often repeated that even the perusal of them in the daily journal becomes depressing from its painful monotony:

"On the morning of the 21st we weighed anchor, and put out in company with several junks, and till the 24th had no other than a head wind, sometimes blowing very fresh, at others moderate. In the former case, when we could gain nothing by beating, we generally found a smooth place in which to anchor, and in the latter were always forced to anchor when the tide made against us. In the morning of the 24th we had a light breeze from southwest, which, soon after increasing, blew a good whole-sail breeze all day, and I was flattering myself it would carry us round the north end of Formosa, when the most difficult part of the passage would have been completed; but in this I was grievously disappointed, for, at eight P.M., the wind shifted, in a squall, to its old quarter, the northeast, and blew very hard. Till the night of the 26th we continued plying to windward near the shore, when, it being very dark, we could not gain an anchorage, and therefore stood out to sea till seven o'clock the next morning, and then tacked to stand in again. At

this time it blew a gale of wind; the sea had, consequently, risen very high, and, in carrying our double-reefed sails, our little vessel was mostly under water. At half-past nine, seeing the water break considerably ahead, we supposed it to be caused by a strong current setting to windward, and therefore did not alter our course to avoid it, particularly as we judged we must have passed over it while standing out. However, in passing it this time the vessel struck once, a severe shock, and the next wave carried us over, but filled the deck with sand. We immediately tried the pumps, and had the satisfaction to find the vessel yet tight, and apparently uninjured. After escaping this danger, where, had we stopped, the vessel must inevitably have perished, we ran in to find a harbor, and succeeded by running four leagues to leeward, and at three P.M. anchored in a smooth, sandy bay near a fleet of junks, which, like ourselves, had put in to avoid the storm."

It had become obvious that a mutinous spirit was working among the men, and on the morning of January 30, when the order was given to weigh anchor, the boatswain came aft with the announcement that they had come to a determination to do no more duty till certain conditions were agreed to, among which were, that they should do no unnecessary work, of which they were to be the judges; all hands should never be kept up, except when they saw proper, and the first officer's conduct must be regulated by a line they would mark out, etc.

No grosser miscalculation of character was ever made than by these men, in supposing they could accomplish their object by threats or intimidation.

Immediately on their refusing to do duty locks were put upon the harness-casks, and they were told that, if they would not work, they should not eat. A few of the men remained faithful, and none more so than black

George, the ungainly negro described in the account of the voyage from Havre. Whatever might be his deficiencies, George had no lack of courage, and he knew how to appreciate kind usage. He had once saved his master's life, when a slave in Georgia, at the cost of a severe gunshot wound from a treacherous Indian, and his freedom was given him as the reward. But his subsequent employers had taken advantage of his simplicity, and cheated him out of his wages, till he had learned to distrust every one. My father's treatment of him was so unlike his previous experiences that he would not leave him, but remained with him as his servant for several years, and finally died in Boston, and was buried there, with a suitable headstone erected by my father in memory of his services.

With the small force who refused to join the mutineers immediate preparations were made to resist the expected attack from them, as they swore they would have provisions.

Two 4-pound cannon were loaded with grape-shot, and pointed forward from the quarter-deck, and every one in the after part of the vessel was armed with a musket and a brace of pistols. It should be remembered that this was in the day of flint-locks, and nearly fifty years before revolvers came into use. The men were then told that, if any one of them came abaft the hatchway, he would be instantly shot, and, if they attempted to come in a body, or to take provisions from the harness-casks, the decks would be swept by the cannon, at each of which a man was stationed with a lighted match. As the mutineers had no other arms than handspikes and

hatchets, they did not venture an attack, but stood at bay, hurling imprecations at their opponents; and thus they watched each other for the whole day.

Towards night the proposition was made to set them ashore, which they eagerly agreed to, on the supposition that they could then make their own terms for returning, as they knew that the voyage could not be prosecuted with the small number that remained. My father, on the other hand, was equally confident that their situation on shore would be so uncomfortable that they would be glad to be allowed to return on board on condition of doing their duty. And such proved to be the case, as will be seen from the following extract from his own account:

"As our anchorage was not secure, we, the next morning, weighed and ran into a sandy bay, where the men had been landed.

"As soon as the sails were hoisted three of the men made their appearance, and—supposing we were going off to leave them—kept waving their jackets and hats for us to send for them. When we had anchored I sent a boat ashore, but only one of them came off in her, and he gave such a lamentable account of their treatment on shore that I felt confident of bringing the others to terms. The boatswain and one sailor, being the ringleaders of the mutiny, and very dangerous men, I determined not to take on any account.

"They kept in sight of the vessel all day. In the afternoon, with my glass, I saw the gunner come down to the shore and wave his jacket. I immediately sent the boat for him, but the others, seeing this, ran after him and forced him to go back with them. One of the ringleaders sent off word that if I would send a written agreement to use them well they would all return to their duty. My only reply was to hoist the boat on board again, seeing which they moved off to find shelter for the night.

"It was late in the morning of February 3 before any of them made their appearance. At nine o'clock we hoisted the colors, fired

a 4-pound cannon, and weighed anchor, when they all came out from behind a rock, where they had doubtless been watching our motions. I then ordered the boat out, and with my second officer and four hands, well armed, went as near the beach as the surf would permit. I called them all down to the water's side and told them I was then going away; that I knew there were several of them desirous of returning to their duty, but were deterred by the others; that if they would come forward I would protect them, and would fire at any one who tried to prevent them. They replied that they were all ready and willing to return to their duty, but the two ringleaders were more ready than the others, and when they were rejected they swore none of the others should go, and presented their knives at the breasts of two of them and threatened to stab them if they attempted to do so; a third seemed indifferent, and a fourth was lying drunk on the beach. Having secured three, and one yesterday, which was four out of the ten, and which, with a little additional precaution, was securing the success of the expedition, I did not think proper to put my threat in execution of firing on them.

"After dinner I sent the second officer with four hands, well armed, to make a last effort, but by this time those whose fate was decided had persuaded the others to share it with them, and had carried the drunken man out of reach, declaring that they knew we dare not go on the coast of America with so feeble a crew, and we should take them all or none.

"Having now a light breeze from the westward and a favorable current, I concluded to have no further altercation with them, and immediately hoisted in the boat and made sail, leaving on the island of Kemoy (which is about three hundred and fifty miles northeast of Canton) six of my most able men. This was such a reduction of our number as would require unceasing vigilance and extraordinary caution to counteract, as the risk of being attacked by the Indians was, of course, increased in proportion to our diminished power of resistance."

To save the necessity of future recurrence to this apparently unfortunate experience, I may mention here that the six men who were left on shore were subsequently sent by the Chinese authorities to Canton,

where they told such stories of the dangers and hardships they had suffered on the voyage in the cutter that my father's friends considered their predictions fulfilled, and gave him up for lost. On the other hand, the loss of so many hands, which seemed at the time a great misfortune, proved eventually a most providential occurrence, for they found, on arriving on the coast, that their provisions had been so damaged by the continual storms that, even with their diminished numbers, they were forced to be put on allowance, and if they had had their full complement they would have been obliged to leave the coast before half completing their cargo, in order to escape starvation. The success of the voyage was therefore due to this event, which at the time seemed a great misfortune.

One week more of the same experience of working up, inch by inch, against continual head-winds, and on February 10 they had the satisfaction of seeing the north end of the island of Formosa, bearing south, and distant ten leagues.

Thus, after thirty-one days of incessant toil and exposure, he had accomplished that portion of the voyage which had been represented as impracticable, and which, with a fair wind, could have been made in three or four days. The passage across the North Pacific at that inclement season, however, was but a continued scene of hardship and suffering. The wind was almost invariably so violent that they could carry but little sail, and the sea so boisterous that the watch on deck never escaped a complete drenching, and it was not unfrequently the case that the fire in the caboose was extin-

guished. Before arriving on the coast the precaution was taken of putting up a bulwark or screen made of hides, which were fastened to stanchions, all round the vessel, so that the Indians could not see on board and discover the small number of the crew. Then, when trading with them, only one canoe was allowed to come to the vessel at a time, and that at the stern, over which all communication was held. On the evening of March 30 they arrived on the coast, and anchored in a snug harbor in Norfolk Sound, and for the next two months were busily engaged in traffic with the natives. Only one or two vessels had arrived before them, and of these they had in one respect the advantage, as the small size of the cutter enabled them to navigate the innumerable inlets and bays with which the coast is indented—often in places where a large ship could not venture—and thus secure a great number of skins, singly or in small lots, which would not have reached them had they remained outside. But, on the other hand, the risk of attack from the Indians was proportionally greater, as they more than once met with canoes longer than their own vessel.

It was evident on various occasions that an attack upon the vessel was contemplated, and all sorts of devices were resorted to by the savages to induce them to relax their vigilance, or throw them off their guard, in order to secure the coveted opportunity for boarding the vessel. But, although the intercourse with them was always kind and conciliatory, no reliance was ever placed upon their professions of friendship, and no opportunity for the display of their treacherous character was ever afforded, although on one occasion they were

placed by accident in so perilous a position that nothing but a concurrence of favorable circumstances prevented their utter destruction. This was after having collected a very valuable cargo of furs and nearly expended their articles of barter, and when they were seeking a safe place to replenish their supplies of wood and water.

"While steering to the westward with this intention, and going at the rate of about two knots, unsuspicious of danger, the vessel suddenly struck a sunken ledge and stopped. Perceiving that she hung abaft the midships, and that there was three and a half fathoms under the bows, we immediately ran all the guns forward and carried out an anchor ahead; but the tide ebbed so rapidly that all our efforts to heave her off were ineffectual. We therefore heeled her on the side, whence she would be less likely to roll over. At low water the position of the vessel was such as to afford little room to hope that she could escape bilging. She hung by about four feet amidships, having slidden forward as the tide fell, and brought up with the end of her bowsprit on the bottom, while her keel formed an angle of forty-five degrees with the water-line, the sternpost being fourteen or fifteen feet above the rock. This position, combined with a rank heel to starboard, made it impossible to stand on deck. We therefore put a number of loaded muskets into the boat, and prepared to make such resistance in case of attack as could be made by fifteen men crowded into a sixteen-foot boat. Our situation was now one of the most painful anxiety, no less from the prospect of losing our vessel and the rich cargo we had collected with so much toil, than from the apprehension of being discovered in this defenceless state by any one of the hostile tribes by whom we were surrounded. A canoe of the largest class, with thirty warriors well armed, had left us but half an hour before we struck, and were now prevented from seeing us only by having passed round a small island. Should the vessel bilge, there existed scarcely any other chance for the preservation of our lives than the precarious one of falling in with some ship before we were discovered by Indians. That she would bilge if the weather varied in any degree from the perfect calm which then prevailed was almost a certainty. More than ten hours were passed

in this agonizing state of suspense, watching the horizon to discover if any savages were approaching; the heavens, if there were a cloud that might chance to ruffle the surface of the water; the vessel, whose occasional cracking seemed to warn us of destruction; and when the tide began to flow, impatiently observing its apparently sluggish advance, while I involuntarily consulted my watch, the hands of which seemed to have forgotten to move.

"At length the water, as the tide rose, having flowed over the coamings of the hatches, which had been caulked down in anticipation of this event, without any indication of the vessel's lifting, I was deliberating on the propriety of cutting away the mast, when we perceived that she was beginning to rise. She soon after righted so much that we were able to go on board, and at half-past twelve in the night we had the indescribable pleasure of seeing her afloat again without having received any other apparent injury than the loss of a few sheets of copper.

"To the perfect calm, smooth water, and uncommon strength of our vessel may be attributed our escape from this truly perilous situation.

"I will not attempt to describe the joy I experienced at this escape. You may conceive of it by being reminded that on one side was presented death in its most horrid form, or a still more horrid captivity among the rudest savages; in the other, life, liberty, competence, and a sight of my friends again.

"On the 23d we laid the vessel ashore and cut off the rough copper, perceived that the keel was considerably bruised and a piece of the sheathing under the copper broken, but no material injury done. We gave her what repair the time would permit, and hauled off when the tide flowed so as to float her. We continued navigating the Sound till the 29th, when, having collected nineteen hundred skins, besides a good proportion of tails, which is considered a good cargo, I concluded to go to Norfolk Sound again and pick up what we could in the course of forty-eight hours, and thence to the Charlotte Islands, preparatory to taking our departure from the coast."

This plan was carried out, and some three hundred skins added to their store, the supplies of wood and water replenished, and on the 27th

"We put to sea, happy at having so fortunately completed our business, and doubly so at leaving this inhospitable coast. Indeed, the criminal who receives a pardon under the gallows could hardly feel a greater degree of exultation."

His return passage to China *via* the Sandwich Islands was chiefly remarkable by the pleasant contrast it afforded to the hardships and dangers to which they had so long been exposed. He arrived at Wampoa on the 15th of September, and thus describes his meeting with his friends there:

"Several of the gentlemen who had predicted our destruction from attempting the voyage at the season we did, presumed, when they saw the cutter arrive, that we had failed, which indeed they had anticipated, from the arrival in Canton several months before of the mutineers whom we had left on the coast of China, and the sad stories they had told of hardship, danger, and cruel usage.

"One of these gentlemen, on meeting me, was actually beginning to express the commiseration he felt for my hard fortune, but perceiving nothing like dejection in my countenance he stopped to make inquiries, and was astonished to learn that we had accomplished the voyage successfully and had a cargo on board that would probably produce $60,000. A piece of information which I received on my arrival served to show me in glaring colors my own short-sightedness, and almost to make me a convert to the belief that 'whatever is, is right.'

"I allude to the loss of the ship *Ontario*. As I had known before arriving at Canton from Batavia that Captain Wheaton was destitute of officers, I had hoped through this means to embark myself and property for America free of expense; but only twenty-four hours before my arrival he had engaged a chief mate, regretting exceedingly that he had not known that I was coming. My own disappointment was very great, as I knew not which way to turn till the offer of the cutter was presented. Had I arrived a few hours earlier in Canton I should have embarked in the *Ontario*, lost all my property, probably without insurance, and been left destitute in a foreign land."

The sea-otter skins which he had bought of the Indians at the rate of eight prime skins in exchange for a musket, were sold in Canton for $26 each, and thus the voyage was completed to the satisfaction of all concerned. I cannot better conclude my account of it than by the relation of a pleasant and unexpected recurrence to it in subsequent years.

Not long after the publication of my father's voyages in 1842, he was surprised at receiving by mail a copy of the Peoria, Illinois, *Register* of July 22, 1842, containing the following:

"YANKEE DARING AND ENTERPRISE.

"Under this head we copied a month ago from the *Boston Courier* a notice of a new volume of voyages, by Captain Cleveland of Boston.

"The article met the eye of an old friend of Captain Cleveland, who in the fulness of his heart has sent us the following letter, with the request that we should put it in editorial form. We prefer, however, to publish it just as he sent it. The writer is the respected postmaster at Andover, in Henry County, and his own life has been little less prolific of adventure than that of his salt-water friend. We knew him twenty-five or thirty years ago as the proprietor of the Tontine Coffee-house in New York, then one of the principal hotels of that city. Like Captain Cleveland, he has counted his dollars by the thousand, and is now, at the turn of Fortune's wheel, content to keep a humble post-office in a town of twenty houses, and to live upon the gains of the Andover grist-mill, which he has recently purchased."

"ANDOVER, *July* 7, 1842.

"MR. DAVIS,—In your paper of 24th June is a sketch from Cleveland's Voyages, taken from the *Boston Courier*. Having myself been something of a traveller, it is pleasing to me to come across a faithful narrative, and such I know this to be from my intimate acquaintance with the writer. Not having heard before of the work, nor of Captain Cleveland for many years, I was greatly interested in the

sketch, especially as I was a party to some of the transactions described.

"The sketch says: 'With the $11,000 in his pocket at the Cape of Good Hope, as above stated, and $7000 more, added by some associates, Captain Cleveland undertook a voyage from China to the northwest coast.' Now, I was one of the 'associates' who added the $7000, having put in $3000 myself, another friend having advanced the same amount, and the remaining $1000 being furnished by Youqua, a silk merchant of Canton. Captain Cleveland, on his return to Canton, remitted to us, then in the United States, the amount of our investment, which netted us over $12,000. Investing this in his hands, we next heard of him at Copenhagen, in Denmark, where he had left with a banker $20,000 subject to our order, with profits still in his hands. The latter remained with him as a little capital for further adventure, and was subsequently lost.

"As to his losses of $200,000, I believe they far exceeded that sum, and I have good opportunity of judging. Particulars are unnecessary, but I am unwilling not to add that many years after our concern was considered completely wound up, we met by accident, without the least expectation on my part of receiving any more, at which time, Fortune having jilted us, it was low water with both.

"He volunteered the remark that he had recently very unexpectedly received something from the wreck, and handed me the account minutely and proportionally stated, with his accustomed accuracy, with two hundred and odd dollars. It was at that time a pleasant windfall to both, uncertain which needed it most.

"These things, with my personal acquaintance with the writer of these 'Voyages,' who, through all the hardships of his life, never, I believe, drank any kind of drinkable but water—although that must often at sea have been unpalatable—warrant me in assuring the public that there can be nothing but unvarnished facts in the narrative; and not such stories as are often told by travellers exhibiting more ruffle than shirt. Although he is now, as he says, in an office in the Boston Custom-House—a position which in New York has proved so great a trial of integrity—he will be Richard J. Cleveland, and, rich or poor, will be the same man. I am too isolated to have my name add anything to its authority. Yours truly,

"EBEN. TOWNSEND."

My father, who had heard nothing of his old friend for years, and had supposed him dead, was naturally much gratified at having thus unearthed him. It led to a pleasant correspondence and subsequently to a visit from Mr. Townsend, when my father was living with me in Burlington, New Jersey, when the two veterans "fought their battles o'er again" with great gusto.

CHAPTER IV.

From Canton to Calcutta, and thence to the Isle of France.—First Meeting with William Shaler.—From the Isle of France to Copenhagen.—Purchase of the Brig *Lelia Byrd*, and Preparations for a Voyage Round the World.—The Count de Rouissillon.

HAVING disposed of the cutter and arranged with the purchaser to go in her as passenger, with a cargo of teas, etc., to Calcutta, he writes to his father from Canton, October 19, 1799, as follows:

"As I cannot freight for America from hence, I have let part of the property, say $21,000, on respondentia for Bengal, whither I am bound, and have left $26,000 to be received by a friend here, and remitted to me in Bengal, if it can be done advantageously; if not, to endeavor to freight it in fine goods from hence to America."

The voyage to Calcutta was marked by two escapes from ruin, and in one of them from certain loss of life as well as property, such as no human foresight can guard against, and which are denominated as providential or accidental, according to the faith or the want of it of the narrator.

On the 5th of November, while at anchor close in shore in the narrow strait before coming to Malacca—

"We saw a fleet of eleven Malay proas pass by to the eastward, from whose view we supposed ourselves to have been screened by the trees and bushes near which we were lying. On perceiving so great a number of large proas sailing together, we felt convinced they must be pirates, and immediately loaded our guns and pre-

pared for defence; though conscious that the fearful odds between our crew of ten men, and theirs, which probably exceeded a hundred to each vessel, left us scarce a ray of hope of successful resistance.

"We watched their progress, therefore, with that intense interest which men may naturally be supposed to feel, whose fortune, liberty, and life were dependent on the mere chance of their passing by without seeing us. To our great joy they did so, and when the sails of the last of the fleet were no longer visible from our deck, and we realized the certainty of our escape, our feelings of relief were in proportion to the danger that had threatened us.

"On arriving at Malacca, the curiosity of the people was greatly excited to know how we had escaped the fleet of pirates which had been seen from the town, and when informed they offered us their hearty and reiterated congratulations."

Of their second escape they learned when they took the pilot on board off the mouth of the river, who told them that a large Portuguese ship, then in sight, had been attacked the day before by a French privateer, which she had beaten off. Had they arrived a day sooner, therefore, they would have fallen an easy prey, and being under English colors the property would have been a total loss.

At Calcutta he was again disappointed in his hope of finding an opportunity to freight his property on advantageous terms to the United States, and after residence there of three months he writes the following letter to his father, in which he informs him of his intended departure; but from prudential motives avoids giving him any intimation of the object he had in view:

"CALCUTTA, *March*, 1800.

"Your packet by my friend Mr. Gray came to hand, just as Captain Wheatland was leaving town to join his ship. I think I acknowledged the receipt of it, but have no recollection what I wrote you.

"I have written you from this place by the *Criterion*, *Mermaid*, *Samson*, and *Perseverance*, and given you such an account of the property left in China, as well as of the voyage in general, that if I should take it into my head not to return, you will not be at a loss to know how to settle it, and I hope will receive enough to enable you to live with ease for the remainder of your life.

"However, I am under no apprehensions on this head, and doubt not I shall be able to wind up the business to my satisfaction, and return in the course of the year 1801.

"If I had not gone so far in my present undertaking that it would be making too great a sacrifice to relinquish it, I certainly would do so, and take passage with Mr. Gray in the *Ulysses*, as it is not likely I shall again meet with so agreeable an opportunity. I have seen none of my countrymen in my travels possessing a greater combination of good qualities, and I consider his friendship a valuable acquisition.

"I flatter myself I may fall in with Bill and George before I return to America. Accounts of the tremendous gale at the Cape of Good Hope have reached us, and among the most fortunate of the unfortunate vessels that were caught in it I find is the brig *Hannah*, Captain Wyman.

"George has in this instance experienced a more disastrous gale, and been witness to a more distressing scene, than perhaps was ever known there; but he has yet more dangers to encounter on our boisterous winter coast. The reflecting on dangers, however, is generally as unpleasant as the experience of them.

"As I leave all my books and papers here, I have thought proper, lest any accident should happen to prevent my getting them again, to enclose you copies of all my accounts of the voyage up to the present time.

"I sent you from hence by the *Perseverance*, Captain Wheatland, fifty pieces of bandannas in a box marked R. C. This I did fearing lest any accident should prevent your receiving the expected property left in China.

"I leave this to-morrow, and intend returning here again in four or five months, when I shall begin to think of turning my face towards home.

"If I meet with success, and a good opportunity offers at that time

for freighting the property home as safely as if I accompanied it, don't be surprised, or think your son crazy, should you hear he had gone to Bombay, in order to go overland to the Mediterranean, and thence through Italy and France to England. Such a thing may happen, though appearances are not much in favor of it; yet I think quite as much so as they were of my seeing China when I left Salem. I am exceedingly desirous of seeing my friends in Salem, but there seems to be a strange fatality attending every motion made to this effect. Pleasing myself with the idea that all will turn out for the best, time passes as lightly with me as with most people; and I am persuaded that few people enjoy a greater share of happiness than myself, if you can conceive of there being any happiness in building airy castles and pursuing them nearly round the globe till they vanish, and then engaging in a fresh pursuit. But enough of airy castles: should I meet with a solid one, I'll take care to have it well fortified in the latest style of engineering science.

"I have become a burgher of the Danish settlement of Fredericsnagore, so that I am now a Dane, and must do as the Danes do."

He had, in fact, determined upon another expedition in a cockle-shell, the object of which it was necessary to conceal from the authorities of Bengal, who allowed no direct intercourse with the Isle of France.

He had received intelligence that the French privateers had captured and sent in to that island so many prizes that the inference was obvious that a ship could be bought there on very advantageous terms:

"I determined, therefore, to procure a boat of such diminutive size as to elude observation, and, at the same time, of so little value that the loss upon a re-sale would not be serious. Such a one I found at Calcutta, nearly finished, of about twenty-five tons, which I made a bargain for, to be completed immediately; to be rigged as a pilot-boat, with a mainsail, foresail, and jib; to be coppered to the bends, and delivered at the Danish settlement of Serampore."

The engagement was fulfilled, the vessel put under

the Danish flag, my father became a Danish citizen, loaded the boat with only sufficient cargo to put her in good trim, and, embarking himself and servant as passengers, dropped quietly down the river and made sail for the Isle of France.

The discomfort of such a boat on a voyage of forty-five days, under a tropical sun, was, of course, very great, and he acknowledges himself that "the attempting such a passage in such a boat was certainly imprudent. It was not so much owing to ignorance of the risk as to that impatience which would not permit ordinary difficulties to interfere with the pursuit of a favorite object."

I may here appropriately introduce an extract from a letter of Commodore Biddle to my father, in acknowledgment of the receipt of a copy of his "Narrative:"

"Your voyages from Havre to the Cape of Good Hope, from Canton to the northwest coast, and from Calcutta to the Isle of France, could have been undertaken and performed by none other than a New England man.

"They reflect credit upon the American name and character."

His arrival excited even more astonishment than had been displayed at the Cape of Good Hope when he landed there from a vessel nearly double the size of this one.

A crowd followed him when he landed and proceeded to report to the governor; and not suspecting that he understood French, expressed freely their surprise and their conjectures as to his probable object. He now had the opportunity to deliver the despatches with which he had been intrusted by the Directory two years pre-

vious, and to explain the cause of the long delay; and although they were, of course, no longer of any value, they served the purpose of a favorable introduction, and secured for him the courtesies which are always so acceptable in a foreign land.

The letter which follows, from Copenhagen, written the year after, gives a better sketch than I could hope to do of his experiences; and the only item on which I wish to offer any remark is the incidental mention of his having made the acquaintance, while at the Isle of France, of William Shaler, which acquaintance was destined to have so important an influence on his subsequent life that it merits more than a passing notice.

Mr. Shaler was a man of rare intellectual power, and of such unflinching courage, determined will, and kingly presence, as seemed to adapt him morally and physically to a leading position among his fellow-men. Of the qualities I have enumerated he gave evidence during his residence in Algiers, where he held the position of consul-general of the United States for many years, and rendered very important services to his government and countrymen while in that capacity.

On one occasion, when a certain tribe of Arabs were in rebellion, the Dey issued an order for the arrest and imprisonment of every member of the tribe who happened to be in the city. The household servants of the foreign consuls in Algiers were almost exclusively of this tribe, and notice of the requisition for their surrender was at once sent to all the consulates.

Some of the consuls made no opposition to the decree; others paid off and discharged their servants, leaving

them to their fate. The British consul endeavored to protect his premises, but his doors were forced and his servants dragged out and imprisoned.

Every possible effort was made to induce Mr. Shaler to comply with the demand, but he insisted upon maintaining the dignity of his flag; and when the emissaries of the dey made their appearance, coolly informed them that they could only enter his premises over his body.

He carried his point, and not only saved his servants from imprisonment and, possibly, death, but was ever after treated with distinguished respect and consideration by the dey.

During the subsequent attack on the city by the British fleet, under Lord Exmouth, the influence he had acquired enabled him to render very valuable diplomatic service in the protection of English and other Christian interests.

His "Sketches of Algiers," published in Boston, in 1826, contains a very interesting account of the country and its social condition under Moorish rule, and also a graphic description of the capture of the city by Lord Exmouth.

Of all men of distinguished personal appearance whom I have had the good-fortune to meet—not even excepting Daniel Webster—I have never seen one whose aspect seemed to me so impressive, or so truly one of majestic dignity, as Mr. Shaler's, and his stern gray eye had an indescribable expression of firmness and resolution which no man would care to encounter in opposition.

A gentleman who resided in a New England country-

town, which for a time was Mr. Shaler's home, gave me once a humorous account of the effect of his appearance upon the crowd assembled at the village post-office to wait the assortment of the mail.

"They would fall back," said he, "and open to the right and left, as if a lion had walked in at the door."

He was at heart a man of warm and generous nature, fond of reading and hard study, affable and pleasant with congenial spirits, but impatient with frivolous and commonplace people. The acquaintance which began at the Isle of France ripened into such a feeling of warm attachment and implicit confidence in each other as rarely exists even between those who are connected by ties of blood, and this friendship continued through life.

The following, from my father's narrative, on the occasion of their separating after a long voyage together, bears evidence to this fact:

"The parting here from my long-tried, much-esteemed, and affectionate friend Shaler was not unattended with painful emotions. We had shared abundantly in those dangers, toils, and anxieties no less than in those pleasures and recreations which combine so forcibly to cement the bonds of friendship.

* * * * * * * *

"The many instances that had come within our observation of intimate friends becoming alienated, from differing in opinion on the merest trifles, had suggested to us the propriety of pondering well on our ability to sustain harmoniously the alliance we contemplated in affairs of greater importance. Nothing short of our mutual experience of each other's temper and disposition could justify the presumption implied of the power to maintain the harmony required in a voyage of ordinary character between two persons equally interested in the property, equally competent to take charge

of the nautical and mercantile part of the business, and on a perfect footing of equality in everything relating to the management of the ship, as well as that of the cargo. But in an enterprise involving so much difficulty and danger, so much to perplex and irritate, with so little success to cheer the spirits and promote equanimity of temper, that we should be able to accomplish it without a rupture is surprising; how much more so, then, that we never had an angry dispute, and parted with feelings of affection increased by the very difficulties and embarrassments we had encountered together."

This account of Mr. Shaler has filled a greater space than I had anticipated. The following is my father's letter, in which, as I have said, he is first mentioned. It will be seen by the explanation given in it that he had previously been restrained from writing by the same prudential motives which affected him at Calcutta.

"COPENHAGEN, *June* 22, 1801.

"I am now, as you will perceive, at the Danish capital, from whence (in conformity with my usual custom) I propose to give you a sketch of my proceedings since I last wrote you from the capital of the British empire in India.

"I think, on my leaving India, you had no positive information as to my destination by any of my letters from there; and I am persuaded you will see the necessity which existed for the greatest circumspection in my operations, for had my letters been intercepted by a ship of either of the belligerent powers, and myself afterwards fallen into their hands, the consequences would probably have been an end of the voyage. That you might not, however, remain entirely in the dark respecting them, I communicated my plan to Mr. Winthrop Gray, who promised to disclose it to you; but, alas! he lived not to perform this promise. I was grieved on hearing of the sad accident that befell him, and though my acquaintance with him was not of long standing, it was sufficiently so to give birth to a real friendship for him. I sincerely wish that many who make much more profession of rigid morals were as incapable as he was of a mean or dishonest action.

"My object in going to the Isle of France was to purchase prize goods or ships, with which to return to India. From a knowledge of the great success of the privateers, and information (which I had reason to suppose was correct) that no Danes had gone from Tranquebar to make purchases, I had but little doubt that I should be able to wind up my voyage at Calcutta in three or four months from the time of my departure, and with a handsome profit; and, should I *possibly* be disappointed in this, that the American trade with France and her colonies would soon be open, and I should readily find an opportunity of freighting my property to America. In both these calculations I was mistaken, for, on my arrival, I found that the sales were finished, and the privateers on the point of sailing on another cruise, so that nothing could be expected from them for several months. I therefore decided on the second plan, in daily expectation of the arrival of Americans, for I was now assured by an arrival from France that all differences between the two republics were amicably adjusted. I therefore went down to Bourbon in expectation of purchasing my coffee lower and more readily than at Mauritius. But the inhabitants had heard of the arrival of the American from France, which, in conjunction with my arrival there, led them to suppose that their produce would soon rise in value, and therefore (as in general they are not in want) they would not sell at any price. After remaining a fortnight without doing anything I returned to Mauritius, where, in longing expectation of the arrival of Americans, and at times doubting whether they would come, finding it impossible to fit out a vessel for America before we knew that the intercourse was open, and feeling extreme repugnance at the thought of returning to India without doing anything, I waited day after day and month after month with as much impatience as any prisoner ever experienced in the Bastile. To have remained in such a state of inactivity in a more pleasant country would not have been agreeable, but here everything concurred to cause the time to wear so heavily away that the ten months I was detained appear as long as all the rest of the time I have been from home. You will naturally suppose that the annoyance some of their privateers have met with from our armed merchantmen has much irritated, and in many instances influenced, them in the condemning of unarmed vessels which have been sent in.

"Americans are reproached with ingratitude towards France and partiality for the English, and myself among the few who were there; for, although I entered as a Dane, it was soon discovered that I was an American. Nor did I try to conceal it, but, on the contrary, condemned the measures of the French government towards America wherever I heard them discussed, and sometimes (though rarely) found an honest Frenchman who was of my opinion, but he was a planter, and the planters in general have not a much more exalted opinion of the integrity of the merchants than I have. To brand any set of men with the epithet of rogue is rather harsh, but, upon my word, I do not think it can be more justly applied to the inhabitants of Botany Bay than to the merchants of Mauritius; nor was our countryman, Captain Ingraham (who published a list of these gentry in a Boston paper), much out of the way as it respects truth, but a good deal in point of prudence; for this paper, branding a number of them with the epithet of rogue, villain, etc., had like to have caused serious trouble to the few Americans who were there. On the day this paper was produced on 'Change the only American who happened to be present was S. Minot, and he was so grossly insulted by one of these censured *citoyens* (a Mr. Sevenne) that a duel was the consequence; but, although they fought at only five paces, no other mischief arose than the Frenchman's receiving a ball in the arm, which laid him by for a few weeks. Whether he is more or less a rogue since than before this affair I will not pretend to decide, but leave it to those who may be so unfortunate as to have any transactions with him, and return to my own affairs.

"In December I purchased and expedited a ship for Calcutta for account of Mr. White, of Boston, who was largely concerned in my speculation, and was waiting my return there; and early in January I contracted (in conjunction with a Mr. Shaler, of Connecticut) with a Danish captain to freight on board his ship seven thousand bags of coffee, on condition that he should deliver us six thousand bags in Copenhagen. We were not to pay any primage or average, and were to have passage for ourselves and servants gratis, except paying a proportion of cabin stores.

"These were certainly very advantageous terms, and such as only his peculiar situation induced him to accept, as he had purchased a large ship at a moderate price, had not half property enough to load

her, and could not procure freight from any other quarter. In addition to the freight being low, it was one of the finest ships that I have ever sailed on—an East India Company's ship of nine hundred tons' burden, on her first voyage, and although, when captured, she carried between decks twenty 18-pounders, and six 9-pounders on the quarter-deck, and had on board, in sailors and soldiers, three hundred and fifty men, she was taken by boarding by the celebrated Surcouffe in the *Confiance* privateer of twenty guns and one hundred and fifty men. Nor was she taken by surprise, but rather from the Englishman's too great confidence in his own strength and contempt for that of his enemy. Such a bold and successful attempt has not perhaps its equal in the pages of history. Surcouffe relates with humor the story of an English major-general who was a passenger on board, and who, after the ship had surrendered, came up from below (where he had stowed himself with the lady passengers during the action) and presented his sword to him; but Surcouffe, instead of receiving it, told him he might keep it, as he was sure it was in harmless hands; nor did he think it worth while to keep him a prisoner, but let him go with the other passengers.

"But what has this to do with my affairs, of which I sat down to give you a detail, before which, however, I must observe that, among many instances of the depravity, or, rather, weakness, of this government, in suffering the privateers to send in, and their courts to condemn, neutrals on the most frivolous pretences, they have in no instance been guilty of a more glaring piece of villainy than in the condemnation of the brig *Traveller*, of Boston, and her cargo of $110,000 specie, belonging to Mr. Joseph Lee, Jr., and the Messrs. Williams, of Boston.

"We left the Mauritius on the 21st of March, and, after one of the pleasantest and quickest passages I ever experienced, arrived at Christiansand, Norway, on the 11th instant—only eighty-two days. We came along in the most perfect serenity, having heard nothing of any disturbance between the English and Danes, and were pursuing our course for Copenhagen when we spoke a Danish coasting vessel a few miles from the entrance to Christiansand, and were surprised with the intelligence that war had been declared, and that we could not proceed farther towards Elsinore without being intercepted by an English cruiser. As we conceived that some time

must elapse before these differences could be adjusted, and, consequently, that the ship must necessarily remain where she was, Mr. Shaler and I remained but two days and then took passage for Nybourg, a pretty town on the island of Fyen, where we arrived the third day after leaving Norway. From here we crossed to Corseur, on the western part of Zealand, where we slept, and next morning took post-horses for Copenhagen, where we arrived at night, having travelled through a most delightful country, level, and everywhere in the highest state of cultivation. You will easily conceive how gratifying to the sight such a country must be to one who has been for so long a time either in a country of barbarians, where the ice remains all the year round, or in the torrid zone, where vegetation is almost entirely burned up, and where it is imprudent to go out of the house at noonday.

"If I had understood the language I should almost have fancied myself in my native country; but we met with but one person who could speak French, and none that could speak English, on the road, so that we were forced to talk by signs, except to the man who spoke French. He was a well-dressed old gentleman of upward of seventy, who made up for all deficiencies in chat. His curiosity was as much excited by my honest negro servant as was that of any of the peasants of the country, and he even asked how long he had been caught and tamed, and was much surprised to learn that he was a native of America and had never been wild. My first pursuit on arriving here was to inquire for a Salem vessel, and I soon had the pleasure of seeing William Orne, Jr., from whom I learned that all my friends were alive and well but a few days ago; and this, you will conceive, was a great relief to me, for, though I sought for news, I dreaded to hear what it might be.

"It may yet be fifteen or twenty days before the arrival of our ship at this place, so that it is very uncertain when I shall be able to close my business here; but, as I have for *the concern* property worth here about $60,000 net, and am myself the largest proprietor, and as this property is now safe, I think you cannot want for money even if the China adventure did not yield so much as I calculated on when I wrote you from Calcutta. I hope, however, it gave you a supply, besides paying my debts; but, whether it did or not, or whether it arrived safe or was lost, money you must have,

and as soon as I can conveniently make you a remittance I shall do so.

"I have given you a long, faithful, and perhaps tedious narrative of my proceedings thus far. Of my next movements you will be regularly advised, but do not impute it to any want of affection if they should not be towards home."

The next letter from Copenhagen, a few days later, gives no definite account of his plans, and thenceforward my record of his movements must be made up from his "Journal," as no more letters have been preserved, and probably none were written, as the opportunities for transmission from the ports he next visited must have been extremely rare.

"COPENHAGEN, *July* 5, 1801.

"Since writing you of my arrival here, to wear off the time while waiting for our ship, I have made a pleasant journey on this island, in company with two American gentlemen. Our first visit was to Roschild, about twenty English miles from hence. In the cathedral of this place are buried all the deceased kings, queens, etc., of Denmark, as far back as seven hundred years.

"From thence we went to Fredericsburg, a very ancient and superb palace, where we saw many fine pieces of sculpture, paintings, etc. Thence to the cannon-foundery at Fredericswork, belonging to a prince of Hesse. After being shown every part of the foundery and the powder-works, we proceeded to Fiedenvert, where there is a beautiful palace, built by the late Juliana Maria, mother to the present king, into every apartment of which we were shown, and, consequently, saw all the fine furniture and paintings. From thence we went to Elsinore, where one of our party left us, and crossed over to Sweden, on his way to Russia, and the other returned with me to Copenhagen, after an absence of four days, much improved, as you will imagine. For my own part, I have become so great a connoisseur in pictures that—as you will perceive—I have been able to recollect the names of the towns and palaces in which they are to be seen. I often think, on my various excursions, of the booby mak-

ing the tour of Europe, as described in the *Spectator*. Pray don't be disappointed if I should be able to give you no better account of the manners, customs, government, laws, public edifices, and rare curiosities which I have seen.

"The morning after my return from this excursion I was agreeably surprised at meeting my old friend, Captain Silsbee. The time elapsed since I have seen him seems to have made very little alteration in his appearance, and he seems the same good fellow with whom I made my first voyages. I do not think Fortune could have bestowed her favors on a more deserving object. He urges me much to return to America, and offers me a passage in his ship. This I would gladly accept, but I have long had a plan in view, which I am very anxious to carry into execution, and which will depend entirely upon the arrival of our ship from Norway. If she should not arrive within the present month, I shall return to America immediately on settling my affairs here. If she *should* arrive within the month, it is probable I shall make another trip around the world, of which you shall be advised.

"I regret, and am surprised, that you should have been uneasy at not hearing from me from the Mauritius. The difficulty, as well as danger, of forwarding letters while on such a speculative adventure, where the property was entirely masked, ought to have occurred to you, and your knowledge of my extreme caution and dislike of running into danger would, I thought, have authorized me to have undertaken more hazardous expeditions without alarming you."

The plan to which he alludes was one which he and Mr. Shaler had discussed together on their passage from the Isle of France, of a trading voyage to the west coast of South America, and probably round the world, and had so far agreed upon that its execution was dependent solely upon their meeting with a suitable vessel for their purpose.

The cargo of coffee they had brought from the Isle of France was sold at a handsome profit, and he received,

also, very satisfactory accounts of the proceeds of that portion of his property which had been shipped to America, so that he not only felt free from anxiety on his own account, but had the satisfaction of knowing that he had fully provided for his father's wants, and had ministered bountifully to the comfort of other relatives to whom he was bound by ties of gratitude and affection.

Finding it impossible to procure a suitable vessel at Copenhagen, they went to Hamburg, where they accomplished their object by the purchase of the brig *Lelia Byrd*, of Portsmouth, Va., a stanch, fast-sailing vessel of one hundred and seventy-five tons, with good capacity for carrying, and very comfortable accommodations.

While Mr. Shaler went to Bordeaux to attend to some business of his own, my father remained in Hamburg to supervise the coppering and repairing of the vessel, which was accomplished, and the cargo shipped, by the time of his return, at the end of September. As their partnership was, in all respects, one of perfect equality, the nominal position of captain—which it was necessary, for form's sake, that one of them should assume—was decided in favor of Mr. Shaler by tossing a copper, and my father, therefore, appeared on the ship's papers as supercargo.

Before they were ready for sea, however, the objects which had formed the chief incentive to the prosecution of the voyage were defeated by the sudden and unexpected termination of the war between France and England by the Treaty of Amiens. The commerce of Spain

with her colonies would now be renewed, and, by the regular introduction of the manufactures of Europe, the hitherto exorbitant prices on which they had counted as a compensation for their efforts would be at once reduced. It was obvious, therefore, that a voyage to Chili and Peru could now be made only under the most discouraging auspices, as the same cause which operated to enable the inhabitants to supply themselves with manufactures would also greatly increase the difficulty and danger which foreigners must encounter in endeavoring to elude the proverbial jealousy of Spain of outside intrusion on her colonial commerce. The business, however, had advanced so far that a resale of the vessel and cargo could not be effected except at great loss, and they could not reconcile themselves to the abandonment of the voyage.

Meantime, during their residence in Hamburg, they had become acquainted with the Count de Rouissillon, a young Polish nobleman, who had fought for the liberty of his country as an aide-de-camp of Kosciusko, and, being one of the proscribed, was living in Hamburg on very slender means, and without occupation. He was the descendant of an ancient noble family. He possessed a powerful intellect, and gave evidence that great care had been exercised in its cultivation. His acquirements in mathematics, in astronomy, music, and drawing were very respectable, and there was scarcely a European language with which he was not familiar. For these attainments he was not less indebted to his fine natural powers than to an untiring industry, which was so habitual that he seemed to grudge a moment's

time that was passed without adding something to his stock of knowledge.

Perceiving the very great addition to their own enjoyment which would be derived from the companionship of so agreeable a young man—for they were all under thirty—they invited him to accompany them, simply as a travelling companion. He had never been at sea, and the prospect of a rambling voyage round the world to a man like him, who had been reared in the interior of a continent, offered such attractions that he accepted the invitation without hesitation and with warm expressions of gratification and delight.

Looking back over the lapse of eighty years, and recalling the circumstances of the period and the character and position of the young men by whom this enterprise was undertaken, the history of the voyage on which they were now embarking seems more like the conception of a poet's imagination than the simple narrative of a commercial enterprise.

It is difficult, at this day, when we not only have full and minute descriptions of every port and country, but can hold instant intercourse with the most remote regions of the globe, to realize the sense of mysterious uncertainty with which those portions were then regarded which were out of the frequented channels of commerce, and especially those that were guarded by such jealous watchfulness of foreign flags as was then considered an essential element of national polity. The starting forth upon a trading voyage of such a character as this had, therefore, all the charm of uncertainty which comprises the chief attraction of a tale of adventure, and

the personal character of the chief actors was in keeping with that of the enterprise, which would neither have been conceived nor attempted by men of everyday mould.

My father's course, from the time of his starting out from Havre, four years previous, had been marked by such sagacity in the conception and such energy and fearlessness in the execution of the enterprises he had undertaken as indicate a rare combination of mental and physical attainments. Their exercise had secured the object at which they aimed, and had relieved him from the painful anxiety he had felt, and which his letters so often expressed, lest his father should be in want.

He had provided for him, and gained for himself a fortune which would have been ample for the gratification of his simple tastes had he abandoned the further prosecution of such exciting adventure as he had heretofore pursued. But a life of quiet ease and luxury was inconsistent with the demands of such a spirit as his, and the union of his own fortune with that of one so fully in sympathy with him as his friend Shaler served, doubtless, to stimulate both of them to the achievement of enterprises of greater pith and moment than either would have attempted alone.

The fact of their winning the friendship of so accomplished a man as the Count de Rouissillon, the mutual appreciation of the value of the intellectual enjoyment of each other's society which was manifested by the invitation and its acceptance, and the subsequent relations of harmony and confidence which were maintained between the three throughout the extended period of try-

ing experiences to which they were subjected, afford evidences of such characteristics in each as can but excite surprise and admiration, and serve to lift the whole enterprise above the domain of a mere trading voyage, and impart to it a halo of attractive interest which may be justly termed poetic.

CHAPTER V.

1803, 1804.

Voyage of the *Lelia Byrd*.—Adventures in Chili and on the Coast of California.—Thence to the Sandwich Islands and China, and thence in the *Alert* to Boston.

THIS voyage of the *Lelia Byrd* occupied the ensuing two and a half years. If any letters were received from him during its prosecution they have not been preserved, and the probability is that no opportunity was offered him for communicating with his friends. His own account of it, as given in his narrative, is so complete, and comprises details of such interest, that if I were to attempt its repetition I should transfer the whole of it to these pages. But I prefer to touch only upon the leading incidents as given in his daily journal, and preserve the consecutive order of events in the history of his life.

While yet in the river Elbe, and lying at anchor at Glückstadt, they had a very narrow escape from destruction by a storm which caused very great damage to the shipping. One cable parted, and the pilot who was on board was very urgent to cut away the masts to prevent being driven on the pier heads; but to this they would not consent, and were finally held by the bower anchor's catching in the one they had lost, and escaped with the loss of the stern boat torn from the davits.

They sailed from Cuxhaven on the 8th of November, 1801, in company with a dozen ships and brigs, and soon had an opportunity of discovering the superiority of their vessel, as at the end of four hours only two of the fleet were visible astern from their decks.

Touching at the Canary Islands for fresh provisions, they continued their course across the Atlantic, and arrived at Rio Janeiro, January 2, 1802:

"Next morning we were visited with much formality by the municipal authorities, accompanied by an interpreter, to ascertain the condition of our vessel, and know our wants, in order that, from their report to superior authority, it might be decided how long we should be permitted to remain in port.

"Aware of the jealousy of the government towards all foreigners, and their practice of rigidly enforcing the law for the exclusion of any other flag than their own except in cases of emergency, we presumed the time granted us would be very limited, and were, therefore, very well satisfied on being informed that the viceroy permitted us to remain eight days. This was ample time to fill our water-casks, to procure a supply of stock, vegetables, and fruit, and to ascertain if it were possible to dispose of our cargo to any of the traders who were here from the river Platte."

They were allowed to go on shore only when accompanied by a soldier; but, as there was no limit fixed to their rambles, they visited all the most attractive points, and spent one evening at the theatre, where the patience of the audience was tried by the delay of the viceroy, as the curtain could not rise till his arrival. When he at length appeared the whole audience rose to greet him, and performances began with a five-act comedy and concluded with a ballet.

The most interesting incident which occurred during

their stay, however, was a visit paid by Mr. Rouissillon and my father to the Convent of the Benedictines. Seeing one of the monks, as they were looking at the outside of the building, Rouissillon addressed him in Italian, and finding he could thus communicate with him asked permission to examine the interior, which was courteously granted, and they were escorted to a gorgeously furnished chapel, and thence to the dining-room and other apartments. They at length asked to see the library, which seemed to excite surprise as being an unusual request; but they were taken without hesitation to a pleasant room, the windows of which overlooked the bay, where they found a collection of ten or twelve thousand volumes, mostly in French, Italian, and Latin, which they examined with interest. The monk who accompanied them was much astonished with the eagerness of their examination, and with Rouissillon's familiarity with many of the works, and remarked upon it to one of the brethren as a mortifying contrast to the ignorance and indifference of their own countrymen.

Finding no opportunity to dispose of their cargo, they took their departure on the 10th of January, came in sight of Cape Horn on the 7th of February, and for a week after were contending with the boisterous and tempestuous weather usual in that region, and arrived at Valparaiso on the 24th of February.

"On entering the Bay of Valparaiso we were boarded by a naval officer from a *guardacosta*, who desired us not to cast anchor till the captain had presented himself to the governor and obtained permission. Consequently, while Mr. Shaler accompanied this officer to the governor, we lay off and on in the bay. More than an hour

elapsed before his return with permission to anchor, and to remain till a reply could be received from the captain-general at Santiago to our request for leave to supply our wants, for which a despatch was to be forwarded immediately.

"We were surprised to find no less than four American vessels lying here, and no less mortified than surprised, and in some degree alarmed for our own safety, to find them all under arrest on different pretexts.

"Yet while we violated no law and required no other than the privileges secured to us by treaty we could not believe that we should be molested.

"On the third day after the messenger had been despatched to the captain-general a reply was received from him, the purport of which was, that our passage had been so good that we could not be in want of provisions, if we had laid in such a supply as we ought to have done before leaving Europe.

"But if it were otherwise, and our wants were as urgent as we represented, the mode by which we proposed paying for them, by a bill on Paris, was inadmissible; and, therefore, that it was his excellency's order that we should leave the port at the expiration of twenty-four hours after receiving this notice.

"On remonstrating with the governor and representing to him the inhumanity of driving us to sea while in possession of so small a supply of the necessaries of life, he very reluctantly consented to our remaining over another post, and even promised to make a more favorable report on the urgency of our necessities than he had done. But as the order to leave was reiterated, we doubted his having performed his promise, and, therefore, determined to write directly to the captain-general.

"In conformity with this decision Mr. Shaler addressed a letter in Spanish to the captain-general, expressing his surprise at the order for our departure without affording us the supplies which were indispensable, and for which provision had been made by treaty, and 'presuming that his excellency's intentions had been misconceived by the governor, he had ventured to disobey the order, and remain in port till the reception of his excellency's reply.'

"A prompt and very polite answer was received, granting us permission to supply ourselves with everything we desired; and, what

was very extraordinary, giving us further permission, which had not been asked, of selling so much of the cargo as would be sufficient to pay for the supplies. After which he desired we would leave the port immediately, and added that if we entered any other port we should be treated as contrabandists."

The above is quoted from the published narrative.

I give the account of subsequent events as described in his journal, written at the time:

"This indulgence on the part of his excellency relieved us from our embarrassments; and on Saturday, 27th of March, having our provisions all engaged and part on board, we sent ashore in the morning twenty-eight pieces of platillas to pay for them, and they were immediately sold by the governor at $18 apiece and the money deposited with the commandant. Our intention was to take off the rest of our provisions in the afternoon, settle our accounts the next day, and then proceed to sea. But the same afternoon began the affair of the ship *Hazard* of Providence, Captain Rowan, as follows:

"The governor had demanded that Captain Rowan should deliver up five hundred muskets, which it appeared were on board the ship, and which, as they were laden in Holland and bound to the northwest coast of America, he supposed did not come under Art. 10 of the treaty, and, therefore, determined not to comply with the demand. Of this determination the aide-de-camp of the governor was informed several days before in my presence.

"It is evident that the governor expected opposition, as he approached the ship in a launch with about twenty soldiers, and seeing that Captain Rowan was prepared to make resistance he lay by at a little distance, and hailed to know if he might come alongside with safety; to which Captain Rowan replied that he should be happy to be honored with his company, but that he would not permit the soldiers to come on board. The governor then went on board and demanded the arms, which Captain Rowan refused, at the same time hoisting his colors and observing that they were his protection and were not to be insulted.

"This firmness no doubt astonished the governor, and he soon went ashore, apparently much mortified, as he immediately ordered

every American merchant then on shore to be shut up in the castle; hoisted the colors at the fort, and ordered a large merchant ship then in the road (which mounted eighteen heavy cannon between decks) to hoist the pennant, bring her broadside to bear on the *Hazard* (by getting a spring on his cable), and order him to surrender on pain of being sunk. To these threats Captain Rowan replied that they might fire if they pleased, and nailed his colors to the mast, and, as the governor did not choose to put his threats into execution, things remained in *statu quo.*

"Shaler, Rouissillon, and myself being on shore, were arrested and sent to the castle, and were thus prevented from putting to sea as we had intended. In the evening we wrote to the governor requesting to be provided with something to eat and with beds. Our letter was returned unopened, and it was not till twelve o'clock the next day, and after passing a most uncomfortable night, annoyed by innumerable fleas, that any attention was paid to us. We were then informed by a verbal message from his excellency that we were at liberty to go on board our ship. We were unwilling to accept this liberty until an apology should be made for the offence, and we finally agreed that Shaler, being the master of the vessel, should remain in prison. We accordingly sent him a bed and provisions, and then asked permission of the governor to send an express to the captain-general, which he refused, asking at the same time why we did not go to sea; to which we replied that we wanted satisfaction for being unjustly imprisoned and ill-treated, and that our captain did not intend to leave the prison till he was informed why he was put in. On Monday I was passing the government house, when the governor called me and asked if I was not second in command, and on my replying in the affirmative, he ordered me to go on board and go to sea. I answered that I could not go without my captain. He then told me he would seize the brig; to which I replied that we were already prisoners, which he denied. I then again asked permission to send a courier to the capital and was again refused. Although the ostensible reason of our refusing to go to sea was to obtain satisfaction for the outrage to which we had been subjected, the real cause of our delay was the hope that we might be of service to Rowan.

"In the evening the governor's courier returned from the capital,

bringing a letter from the captain-general to Captain Rowan, desiring him to deliver up the arms making part of his cargo, and make a second declaration respecting their lading. This order, from the commander-in-chief, was complied with without hesitation, first by delivering the arms, and, second, by referring the governor to his first declaration; at the same time sending (by the supercargo) the certificate, signed by the controller of customs at Amsterdam, of their being laden there. Captain Rowan had now no idea of making further resistance, but intended pursuing the business legally; nor did he consider the governor's advice to him to come on shore in the light of an order.

"Rouissillon was with the governor till past seven o'clock Wednesday evening, and was surprised to hear him say that if Captain R. did not come on shore voluntarily he intended to use force to compel him.

"Rouissillon replied that force would be unnecessary, as Captain Rowan thought no longer of making any resistance; and when he came off we went together on board the *Hazard*, and, on informing Rowan of the governor's intention, he said at once he would go on shore in the morning, as it was too late to go on shore that night. But precisely at eight o'clock next morning (which was two hours before Americans were permitted to go on shore) a band of upwards of two hundred armed brigands, composed of the crews of Spanish vessels, boarded the *Hazard*, and took her, from an unarmed crew of twenty-three men, who supposed themselves in safety.

"And this was done by order of the governor, who stood on shore opposite the vessel, and was a witness to the horrid scene of assassination and rapine that followed. Captain Rowan's life was saved by the humanity of the captain of a Spanish brig, who got into the cabin in advance of the rabble—as he had not time to save himself, as the other officers had done, by retreating to the lazaretto. The plunder which ensued for the remainder of the day, and the following night, was such as to lighten the ship nearly a foot. Nor were the officers of rank backward in taking part in the pillage; and the custom-house guards, far from preventing, were as eager as the rest in the work of robbery.

"With indignation I went immediately after to the governor, to again demand permission to send an express to Santiago, when he

menacingly demanded if we wanted to be served in the same manner; and, also, why we did not go to sea. To the first part of his demand I replied that he might do as he pleased; and, to the second, that we would not go before communicating with the captain-general. Finding his threats of no avail, he at length reluctantly yielded to our request; and our letter demanding justice from the captain-general was ready by two P. M., at which time (having engaged a man to go, for the consideration of eleven dollars), we applied at the post-house for horses, and were informed that the king did not permit foreigners to send expresses. Enraged at this refusal, I went again to the governor, who appeared surprised at it, and immediately gave the man orders to go; and I gave him the letter in the governor's presence.

"This business being finished, the governor observed that he was very sorry for what had happened, and would endeavor to purchase the clothes belonging to the officers of the *Hazard* who had been plundered. Before leaving him I requested, if he decided to seize the brig, that he would send only an officer and two or three men, as we should make no resistance, and there were many valuable books and instruments on board which might possibly be useful to them."

"On Tuesday, April 6th, an answer was received from the captain-general, who (after making known his unjust suspicions relative to the object of our voyage, and affirming that we had no right to navigate in these seas), wound up by assuring us that, after hearing the governor's report, we should have the most complete satisfaction. In consequence of this assurance I went, the next morning, to the governor to let him know that Mr. Shaler intended going on board his vessel, but to this he objected till he heard again from headquarters. An answer was sent to his excellency's letter on the 8th by regular post, refuting his various charges against us; and on the 13th Captain Shaler left the castle, by request of the governor.

"The morning following, as soon as we landed, we were informed by an officer that it was the governor's order that we should prepare for sea as soon as possible. Our expenses having been considerably increased by our unexpected detention, I applied to the governor for leave to sell a few more pieces of linen to repay them; but this he said he could not grant; and, at the same time, asked me why

the captain did not come to see him, observing that, after having quarrelled, it was proper to be friends again; that he was sensible that in taking the part of Rowan we had done no more than our duty, and that he was desirous that a reconciliation should take place. On being informed of this, Shaler and Rouissillon immediately went to call upon him, and it appeared as if he could not sufficiently express his joy at being again friends. He gave us permission to dispose of six more pieces of platillas to pay our additional expenses; and, on Monday, 19th, being ready for sea, he told us we were at liberty to go when we pleased, but he should take it as a particular favor if we would wait twenty-four hours after the sailing of a large ship, then on the point of departure for Lima, and which, it seems, some malicious person had suggested that it was our intention to capture. To this we assented; but, before the expiration of the time, a new cause of trouble had arisen.

"An Irish sailor, who had deserted from us, had declared that we had seventeen barrels on board which were very heavy, and which he supposed to be filled with dollars; and that we had made considerable sales at Rio Janeiro, and had received payment in gold, which was then on board. On Thursday morning, 22d, the governor sent for Captain Shaler, requesting him to bring his papers; and finding, on examination, that there was no Spanish passport, asked the reason. Shaler replied that it was not requisite, and requested him, if he had any intention of making further trouble, to make known his complaints that we might take the necessary steps to remove the cause. He assured Captain S. that he did not intend troubling him any further, repeated the request that we would wait till the ship had sailed for Lima, and wrote our clearance on the back of our sea-letter, which, with the other papers, he returned to Captain Shaler. Friday morning Captain Parga, who commanded two privateers then in port, made a signal, and, at the same time, we observed them loading several cannon on the side that bore upon us; and soon after, as we were sitting down to breakfast, a lieutenant of the *Britannia* came on board, and desired Captain Shaler and his supercargo to go on board that vessel with their papers. A request of this singular nature from the captain of a private armed ship, while we were within the jurisdiction of the Governor of Valparaiso, and while two king's ships were lying

there, was treated with the contempt it merited. We returned for answer that when we had breakfasted we would go ashore and see the governor. But, seeing them immediately manning and arming their boats to board us, and being desirous of avoiding such another horrid scene as we had witnessed on board the *Hazard*, Captain Shaler very prudently went on board in our boat, and, shortly after, sent for me. Captain Parga then went with Shaler on board the brig; sent our sailors on board the privateer, where they were put in irons, and immediately began the search for the kegs of specie, which they found precisely in the place described by the deserter, when they desisted from further search; and, on opening the kegs, discovered that they contained quicksilver, which Captain Parga acknowledged we had a perfect right to carry, and said he should report to the governor (by whose orders he had acted), and had no doubt our men would be at once restored, and permission given us to sail. In the evening Captain Shaler was sent for, and taken on board the *Britannia*, where he was questioned by Captain Parga (who showed him the order of the governor, by which he was acting) relative to the owners of the brig, the object of the voyage, etc. He requested that part of the papers might be left with him, and again observed that our men would be sent on board in the morning, and we should have permission to sail. Of this, however, we felt so much doubt that Captain Shaler went next morning to demand categorically whether they meant to stop us or not; and the answer was not only positive that they did mean to detain us, but was given with such vulgar and abusive language as might naturally be expected from the captain of a Spanish privateer. Shortly after he sent his men on board, and took up on deck ten kegs of the quicksilver, in doing which they burst two, one of which was wholly, and the other partly, lost.

"We immediately despatched another courier to Santiago, complaining to the captain-general of this new act of injustice, and asking permission to come to the capital to settle the business. A reply was received on the 28th, wherein his excellency observed that our business could be soon finished at Valparaiso by answering satisfactorily the following questions, viz.:

"Why was the quicksilver hidden? To whom does it belong? and, What port is it destined for?

"In reply to these questions Mr. Shaler deposed before the governor and a notary, first, that it was not hidden; second, that it belonged to the owners of the cargo; and, third, that its destination was—as the vessel's had been reported to be—round the world; and to this deposition Shaler solemnly made oath on a volume of Shakespeare, presented for the purpose by the governor, a fitting climax to this solemn farce.

"On Thursday, 29th, Captain Rowan was released from confinement, and requested by the governor to go on board and take charge of his ship again; but this he refused to do till he was indemnified for the losses he had sustained. He was, consequently, confined again in the castle, but his officers and men, who had likewise refused, were forced to go by soldiers sent by the governor.

"On Saturday evening, May 1st, this illustrious representative of the Spanish crown, whose name is Don Antonio Francisco Garcia Carrasco, was relieved from further performance of duty by the arrival, from Santiago, of the true proprietary of the government, with his family, whose return had been hastened by the confusion and mischief which had been wrought in Valparaiso by the ignorance and stupidity of the governor *pro tem.*

"On Monday we visited him, and were received with such distinguished marks of good-will as made us regret his previous absence, particularly as he assured us that had he been present we should have found no difficulty in obtaining permission to go to the capital.

"On Tuesday orders came from the captain-general for the quicksilver to be restored to us, and that we should proceed to sea without delay; and, as we did not think it prudent to risk further loss by entering into a process for damages, we wrote to his excellency that we should apply to our own government for indemnification for the detention and loss to which we had been subjected. The day following we received an application for the purchase of the quicksilver from the commandant of the custom-house guards, who proposed to bring the money himself and take it away in a clandestine manner, but as we supposed that the whole scheme was a snare laid to take us in, we would have nothing to do with it. Thursday morning we unmoored and hauled outside the shipping, and in the afternoon took on shore five pieces of linen, with the

produce of which we paid our various additional expenses; and, at four P.M., having taken leave of our acquaintances, came on board, and immediately put to sea, happy in being at last clear of a port where, for two and a half months, we had experienced nothing but crosses and disappointments."

The notoriety they had attained by these protracted quarrels with an ignorant, conceited, and pusillanimous official, rendered it injudicious to attempt to enter any other port of Chili or Peru, and they accordingly determined to steer for the coast of Mexico, stopping on the way for recreation, rest, and refreshment at the Gallipagos Islands, where they arrived and anchored on the 30th of May, and spent a delightful week in the enjoyment of such freedom of action in the midst of the wild scenes of natural beauty as they could the better appreciate from the contrast to their recent experiences. Fish and turtle were so abundant that they not only feasted upon them during their stay, but laid up good store for future use. They took long rambles on shore, and saw immense numbers of guanos of various sizes and colors, but were not tempted to try them as food, though they are said to be very delicate. They traversed various parts of Albemarle Island, and camped out one night in search of water, but found none.

On the 8th of June they sailed for San Blas, and in a few days sighted the coast near Acapulco, and from that time kept the land in sight every day till they arrived at San Blas, on the 11th of July.

Here again they were destined to suffer from the petty jealousy of Spanish officials, of which they had quite as absurd an exhibition as at Valparaiso, though

very different in its character. They found only two or three subordinates at San Blas, as all the chief dignitaries were at Tipec, a town some twenty leagues in the interior, to which they were accustomed to retreat during the summer from the proverbially unhealthy climate of San Blas. They were met with every demonstration of friendship, and a courier was at once despatched to Tipec with notice of their arrival and a request for a passport to Tipec for Rouissillon that he might explain their objects and wishes. Immediately on receipt of this notice the commissary came down to San Blas and confirmed the cordial reception they had met from the subordinates by acceding at once to their requests. He engaged to supply everything that was wanted; and learning that they had on board some boxes of tin-plate, which was very much wanted, agreed to take them at a very great advance on the cost.

Rouissillon accompanied him on his return to Tipec, and a few days after wrote them from there that the governor, whom he represented as a vain, passionate man, had taken offence at the commissary's having presumed to make any arrangement with them before consulting him; had refused to confirm the agreement, and decided that whatever supplies they purchased must be paid for by a draft on the American minister at Madrid. Here, then, were these two great men by the ears at once, and the community took part in the quarrel, the native population adhering to the commissary, while the old Spaniards upheld the governor. The former, whose appointment emanated from the same source as that of the latter, and whose line of duty was distinct and inde-

pendent, was exceedingly piqued and mortified at the position in which he was placed, and was determined not to submit to it. The governor, who could not brook opposition to his will, was incapable of concealing his wrath. The quarrel became the absorbing topic of the village of Tipec, and never before was there such a tempest in a teapot.

A week passed, however, before the parties who had been the innocent cause of all this disturbance were subjected to any inconvenience in consequence of it, and meantime they had profited by the favor with which their application had first been received to secure such supplies as they required, and also to procure a new topmast to replace one they had lost in a squall. But the governor's rancor was so excited that he sent a peremptory order, without even making any reference to the manner of payment for the supplies, that they should immediately leave the port, with a threat of being forced to do so by the gunboats in case of disobedience.

Rouissillon meantime had been arranging for a journey to Mexico, which city he was very desirous of visiting, and where he was encouraged to believe he could get permission from the viceroy to dispose of the whole or part of the cargo. On receiving orders to depart, therefore, they sent word to Rouissillon that they would go to the Three Marias Islands, lying about sixty miles west of San Blas, and there wait till they got word from him relative to the success of his mission, which he was to send them by boat from San Blas.

They accordingly obeyed the governor's order without waiting for its enforcement, and next morning an-

chored in a beautiful sandy bay, where they were sheltered from the southeast winds, which prevail at this season and are often violent. Here again they enjoyed the pleasure of uncontrolled action, and improved the opportunity for overhauling the rigging, repairing and brushing up the vessel, and laying in good store of fuel. They also indulged in making excursions on shore for rest and recreation, and allowed the crew to do the same, one half at a time.

But week after week rolled by till nearly three months had elapsed without news of Rouissillon, and at length they determined to take the risk of returning to San Blas to learn, if possible, what had been his fate. Approaching the port with caution, on the afternoon of the 14th of October, they lay by all night in sight of the town, and next morning saw a canoe approaching, paddled by Indians, who soon delivered to them the long-expected letter from Rouissillon, the contents of which were of a surprising and very encouraging nature. It was dated at Guadalaxara, where he had been treated with great kindness and hospitality by many of the most respectable inhabitants, and had received a very polite letter from the viceroy, with a passport for Mexico, and a permission to sell at San Blas a sufficient portion of the cargo to pay for the supplies they needed. He also hoped to obtain permission to sell the whole cargo, and to return to San Blas in a week or two.

The viceroy, moreover, in consequence of the representations of Rouissillon and of many of the most respectable inhabitants of Tipec, had reprimanded the governor for his rude and uncivil treatment of them,

and the mortification he experienced at being thus outgeneralled by the commissary, acting on a previously debilitated constitution, had brought on a fever, of which he died.

They immediately sent a reply to the letter, and although they could now enter the port of San Blas without apprehension, yet, as they would have had to submit to the encumbrance of a guard stationed on board the vessel, they preferred returning to the islands. After passing another week there, they came again to San Blas, and were received with such civility as plainly indicated the change which had taken place at headquarters.

The news from Rouissillon was not as encouraging as his first letter had led them to expect. A second letter, however, contained the gratifying intelligence that, by a judicious application of a small *douceur*, he had obtained a permit to dispose of goods to the amount of $10,000. He returned to San Blas on the 10th of December, having spent two weeks, on the way from Mexico, negotiating with purchasers.

The goods were landed and sales began at once, but the demand was slow, and it was finally arranged that a portion should be left with Rouissillon to be taken by him to Mexico, from whence he would make his way to the United States, and account to them the following year on meeting them there.

Their departure from San Blas was delayed by the arrival from California of a quantity of sea-otter skins, which they succeeded in purchasing, and at length put to sea, leaving Rouissillon with goods to the amount of

about $3000 prime cost, which it was supposed would bring at least three times that amount in Mexico.

The mutual feelings of attachment which had grown up between them in the course of their varied experiences made the parting a painful one on both sides, and they looked forward with anticipations of pleasure to the time of their meeting in the United States, of which Rouissillon declared his intention of becoming a citizen. But that anticipation was never realized. On their arrival in the United States the following year they heard of his death in Mexico, not long after his arrival there, and the means of communication with that country were then so uncertain that they never were able to ascertain the particulars or to get any account of the property in his charge.

Having received information of a quantity of sea-otter skins at San Diego, California, they next steered for that port, being very desirous to secure an article of merchandise which is always in demand in China. Their previous experience of the characteristics of Spanish officials had prepared them to expect a display of fuss and feathers, with a substratum of avaricious duplicity and cowardice. But all previous exhibitions of these traits were surpassed by that of Don Manuel Rodriguez, the commandant of San Diego.

They arrived at that port and anchored about a mile inside the battery which guarded the entrance on the 17th of March, 1803. The next morning the commandant made his appearance on the shore with an escort of twelve dragoons, and, hailing the brig, requested that a boat might be sent for him. This being done he crowd-

ed his whole retinue into the boat, and on reaching the brig waited till they had climbed over the side and arranged themselves in two rows, with swords drawn and hats in hand, when he followed, and passed between them to the cabin. After the usual inquiries he desired the officer in command of the escort to make a memorandum of the articles they required; counted the men, and, finding only fifteen, expressed astonishment at their undertaking so long and dangerous a voyage with so few hands, and gave them permission to go on shore near where they lay, but forbade their visiting the town, which was about three miles distant. He then took leave, with the same ceremony as on arrival, but left five of his escort on board to see, as he said, that no contraband trade was carried on.

In the afternoon they made an excursion on shore, and, having walked down to the battery without meeting any one to oppose their entrance, they availed themselves of the opportunity to make a cursory examination of its strength, and found it to consist of eight brass 9-pound guns, well-mounted and in good order, with a plentiful supply of ball.

Returning on board before sunset, they made acquaintance with the sergeant of the guard, who proved to be an intelligent young fellow, who told them that, only a few days previous, the ship *Alexander*, of Boston, had been there; that her captain (Brown) had succeeded in purchasing several hundred sea-otter skins from different individuals; that the commandant, without making any previous demand for their delivery, had then boarded the vessel with an armed force, and car-

ried off all the skins they could find; and these skins were still in the possession of the commandant. They made an unsuccessful effort to purchase them, but were offered quite a number of skins by other parties.

The subsequent proceedings are described at length in the published "Narrative." The following account of them is from the manuscript journal:

"On the 21st of March the commandant paid us another visit, and we then paid him for our supplies, and, as we intended going to sea in the morning, he, on parting, wished us a successful voyage. In the evening we sent the small boat ashore and purchased twenty-five skins of the soldiers, which we brought on board between eight and nine P.M. Having agreed for another lot, which were to be brought down to the shore abreast the vessel, we sent the long-boat for them, with the first officer and two men. They did not return; and next morning, seeing the boat hauled up and our men, apparently guarded by soldiers, I went ashore with four hands, armed with pistols, and brought them off, together with the long-boat. They told us they were taken by the commandant in person, who had, no doubt, sent the man who offered us the skins, and then lay in wait to seize the men, who had been bound and lying on the ground all night. Immediately on coming on board we disarmed the guard—a sergeant and four men—hoisted in our boats, and got under way, having a fair wind to go out, though light. Before we got within gun-shot of the fort they fired a shot ahead of us. We had previously loaded all our guns, and brought them all on the starboard side. As the tide was running in strong, we were not abreast the fort—which we passed within musket-shot—till half an hour after receiving their first shot, all which time they were playing away upon us; but as soon as we were abreast the fort we opened upon them, and in ten minutes silenced their battery and drove everybody out of it. They fired only two guns after we began, and only six of their shot counted, one of which went through between wind and water; the others cut the rigging and sails. As soon as we were clear we landed the guard, who had been in great tribulation lest we should carry them off."

I have previously mentioned that they had inspected the battery, and found it to contain eight 9-pound guns. Their own armament was six 3-pounders, one of which was unserviceable.

Mr. Richard H. Dana, in reviewing my father's book in the *North American*, quotes at length his account of this affair, and adds:

"We take this opportunity to assure the author that, after the lapse of more than thirty years, the story was yet current in San Diego and the neighboring ports and missions."

I remember, also, that, not long after the transfer of California to the United States, my father received a letter from Commodore Biddle, in the course of which he referred to the "Battle of San Diego" as giving him a claim to the governorship of the newly acquired territory, since it was won many years in advance of the achievements of Fremont and other heroes of the Mexican war.

Proceeding southward, they next anchored in the Bay of St. Quintins, where they found Captain Brown, of the ship *Alexander*, who gave them such an account of the barbarous treatment he had met with at San Blas as served to confirm their conviction of the wisdom of their own policy.

A few days after their arrival, and after the departure of Captain Brown for the Northwest Coast, they received a visit from a jolly company of padres of different missions, accompanied by the commandant of San Vincente, a mission about sixty miles north of St. Quintins. The news of the affair at San Diego had preceded their

arrival, but, far from exciting prejudice, it seemed only to make them indignant with the commandant, and their wish to make amends for his treacherous and cowardly behavior, and to express their grateful sense of the magnanimity of the Americans in their treatment of the guard was manifested not alone by words, but by efforts, in which they seemed to vie with each other in hospitable attentions and attempts to provide for every want. They encamped upon the shore, and were so urgent to prolong the enjoyment they seemed to derive from the companionship of intelligent men that they persuaded their visitors to remain another week after they were fully ready for sea.

The next and last place they visited on the California coast was San Borgia, where they met with Padre Mariano Apolonario, a man whose purity, excellence, and benevolence of character were such as to lift him above all considerations of sect, and entitle him to rank with such Christians as Fénélon. My father's account of his visit here, as given in his journal, is as follows:

"Padre Mariano had been some days expecting us, and, as he could not live on board ship on account of the motion, we pitched a tent for him on shore opposite the vessel. We had intended remaining only two or three days, on account of being short of water, but he removed the difficulty by having it brought on mules a distance of six or seven miles; and when, at the end of a week, we were preparing to put to sea, the good man insisted upon our remaining another week, offering to furnish provisions, water, and everything that the mission afforded; nor could we resist his solicitations, being convinced by the great pains he took to make our stay agreeable that he was much pleased with our company. In addition to various little presents of wine, dried fruits, etc., he gave us a stallion, and mare with foal, which we had previously tried in vain

to purchase, to take to the Sandwich Islands. These were an acquisition we had almost despaired of obtaining. We took them on board on the 20th, and, having presented him with various articles of which he stood in need, we took leave of the good padre, who promised to say a mass for our preservation and happiness ; and, if any man's prayers reach Heaven, I doubt not his do, for he was as devout as he was hospitable and liberal; and, indeed, such disinterested friendship as we experienced from him I have rarely, if ever, met with."

Touching at Cape St. Lucas, where they purchased "another pretty mare with foal"—for which they paid in goods which cost in Europe one and a half dollars—they took their departure on the 30th May, and arrived at Karakaroa Bay, Sandwich Islands, on the 21st of June.

They found it was the season of a periodical taboo, during which no canoes were allowed to stir; but the next day John Young came on board, and told them that the king was at Mowee.

Young was very desirous of having one of the horses, and, thinking that the probability of their increase would be better secured by leaving them in different places, they next day moved to Tooagah Bay, near Young's residence, and landed the mare, of which he took charge. This was the first horse ever seen in Owyhee, and naturally excited great astonishment among the natives.

From here they went to Mowee, and were first boarded by Isaac Davis, who, with John Young, comprised, at that time, the European population of the islands.

Soon after a large double canoe came off, from which a powerfully-built, athletic man, nearly naked, came on board, and was introduced by Davis as Tamaahmaah,

the great king. His reception of them was not such as they had anticipated, nor could they account for his apparent coolness and lack of interest, except on the supposition that it was mere affectation. He took only a careless look at the horses, and returned to the shore without expressing any curiosity about them. His subjects, however, were not restrained by any such desire to appear unconcerned. The news of the arrival of the wonderful animals spread rapidly, the decks were crowded with visitors, and next day, when they were landed, a great multitude had assembled, evidently with no definite conception of any use that could be made of them. As might be expected from people who had never seen a larger animal than a pig, they were at first afraid to approach them, and their amazement reached its climax when one of the sailors mounted the back of one of them, and galloped up and down upon the beach. They were greatly alarmed, at first, for the safety of the rider, but when they saw how completely he controlled the animal, and how submissively and quietly the latter exerted his powers in obedience to his will, they seemed to have a dawning conception of the value of such a possession, and rent the air with shouts of admiration.

The king, however, could not be betrayed into any expression of wonder or surprise, and, although he expressed his thanks when told they were intended as a present to himself, he only remarked that he could not perceive that their ability to carry a man quickly from one place to another would be a sufficient compensation for the great amount of food they would necessarily require.

This want of appreciation of the value of the present, which they had taken so much pains to procure, was naturally a disappointment to the donors, who could only hope that time and experience would serve to convince the stolid chieftain that an important element in the work of civilization was comprised in their possible services.

From the Sandwich Islands they took their course for China, and arrived at Wampoa on the 29th of August, 1803, and on going up to Canton found letters from home, by which my father received the first intelligence that his father had died at Salem on the 8th October, 1801—nearly two years previous.

At Canton, after disposing of the sea-otter skins at a handsome profit, they decided to separate. Mr. Shaler took charge of the *Lelia Byrd*, and returned to the California coast with a cargo which they had had an opportunity to purchase on very favorable terms, and my father took passage for Boston on the ship *Alert*, Captain Ebbets, with a valuable investment of silks as freight. They left Canton on the 4th of January, 1804, stopped a few days at the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 13th of May arrived at Boston, where (in the concluding words of his journal), "for the first time in seven and a half long years I meet with friends."

During this period he had twice circumnavigated the globe; had performed three of the most daring and venturesome voyages on record, and brought them to a successful issue, not less by his skill and knowledge of practical navigation than by the sagacity and judicious management of the property of which he had charge,

belonging to himself and others. He had started out for himself from Havre, at the age of twenty-three, with a capital of $2000, and now at thirty returned from his wanderings with a fortune of $70,000, thirty-five times the original capital in seven years, and all wrought out in legitimate lines of commercial enterprise by genuine hard work of both head and hands.

Let it not be forgotten that within the easy memory of many yet living the number whose fortunes exceeded $50,000 was sufficiently rare to entitle them to rank as men of wealth, and the possessor of $100,000 was regarded as having attained a much higher position on Fortune's wheel than that we now give to the owner of a million.

CHAPTER VI.

1804–1807.

Marriage and Settlement at Lancaster, Massachusetts.—Forced to Resume Navigation.—Voyage of the *Aspasia*, and its Ruinous Termination.

Believing himself to be now possessed of ample means for the support of a family without further necessity of effort to increase his fortune, he was married, on the 12th of October, 1804, to his cousin, Dorcas Cleveland Hiller, second child of Joseph and Margaret (Cleveland) Hiller. Her father was a highly respected citizen of Salem, and was the first collector of the ports of Salem and Beverly, appointed by President Washington. Her mother was the sister of my father's father.

In company with his brother William, he soon after purchased a very pleasant estate in Lancaster, Massachusetts, and devoted himself to the rational enjoyment of such tastes as he now felt himself at liberty to indulge. These were simple and unostentatious. He had always a great love of reading, and he had, in the course of his travels, secured such a collection of books as to constitute a library which, for that day, was no less remarkable for the number of volumes it contained than for the good taste indicated in their selection.

It would be natural to suppose that one who since coming upon the stage of active life had been so con-

stantly engaged in such exciting scenes of adventure would soon tire of the monotony and tameness of such a life as that of a New England country-town at that period.

The history of his life at Lancaster, however, proved that his enjoyment of life was in nowise dependent upon such stimulants, and that the resources afforded by his own tastes and acquirements, the interests of domestic and social life, and the opportunities for usefulness in the promotion of objects of benevolence and improvement which constantly presented themselves, and in which he had the full sympathy and aid of my mother, were all-sufficient for his happiness, and he regarded it as the greatest misfortune when he was compelled again to go to sea.

Had Mr. Shaler been as fortunate in the management of the joint property of which he had taken charge as he and my father had been while acting together, the necessity might not have arisen for attempting a restoration of their fortunes. But not only was his second voyage in the *Lelia Byrd* a very unfortunate one in itself, but was almost entirely unsuccessful in one of its important objects; the collection of debts due from various missions who had bought goods of them on credit. Out of twenty priests who had been thus accommodated, only four proved by their actions that honesty was any part of their religion.

The death of Rouissillon, in Mexico, extinguished all hope of returns from the property in his care, and these combined with other losses so reduced the amount of their possessions as to incite them to new efforts for

their retrieval. Fortunately there was no loss whatever of the confidence they felt in each other, and no hesitation in again uniting in the accomplishment of new enterprises.

The war succeeding the short peace of Amiens had again closed the ports of the Spanish colonies to their own ships, and they could only receive their supplies of European manufactures under cover of a foreign flag.

Another voyage to Chili and Peru, therefore, seemed to offer a prospect of profit proportional to the risk, and by combining their resources they fitted out an expedition for those countries, of which my father was to take charge.

In June, 1806, they bought in New York a Baltimore clipper schooner called the *Aspasia*, of one hundred and seventy tons, and loaded her with such a cargo as experience had taught them was suited to the wants of the people to whom it was to be offered. Vessel and cargo were owned equally by Mr. Shaler and my father, and absorbed nearly the whole fortune of each, only a portion of which was covered by insurance at a high premium.

I have no journal of this voyage, and rely for my account of it on his published narrative, and still more on his letters to my mother, from which I shall make liberal quotations.

The earliest allusion to the subject which I find under his own hand is in a letter to my mother at Lancaster, dated Boston, 17th of June, 1806, in which he says:

"I found letters here from Shaler announcing the purchase of a vessel, and urging me to come on to New York as speedily as possi-

ble. I have, therefore, finished all my arrangements here, embarked my baggage on a vessel for New York which sails to-day, and intend setting off myself on Thursday morning."

The experiences of his journey to New York, as incidentally mentioned in one or two subsequent letters, will serve to give to modern readers a realizing sense of what they have gained (and, possibly, a conception of some things they have lost) by the introduction of steamboats and railroads. He writes from Providence on the 20th of June:

"While waiting for the packet for New York I am tempted to scribble a line to you. We shall leave here in about two hours, and I hope to be in New York by Monday or Tuesday. I fell in here with James and T. H. Perkins, the former of whom I had never met before. He inquired particularly for you, expressed much regret at not having seen you in Boston, and they both promised to visit you at Lancaster."

Next day he writes from New Haven:

"You will wonder how I came to be here, as I yesterday informed you I was waiting for the packet in Providence. At that time my passage was engaged in the packet; but while I was waiting for the porter to take my trunk on board, the mail stage called to know if there were any passengers, and I could not resist the impulse of taking the first opportunity that offered, so stepped in, and here I am. This is fortunate, for the wind is blowing strong from the west, and the packet, therefore, must remain at Newport till it shifts. By riding another night I could have reached New York to-morrow morning, but I was fatigued and preferred spending a day or two here. On Monday I shall take the stage again, and be in New York the next morning.

". . . While writing I learn that the wind has changed, and that an excellent packet sails this evening for New York, so farewell stage. I have little doubt of arriving there to-morrow.

"Would to Heaven that something might occur that should make

it proper and prudent to give up the voyage; but it would be as wise to wish for fortune at once."

From New York he writes on the 25th of June:

"I found Mr. Shaler had purchased an excellent vessel for our business, the schooner *Aspasia*, of one hundred and seventy tons' burden. From her size and construction she will be a very uncomfortable and swift-sailing vessel; but, provided the voyage turns out as well as we have reason to expect, and enables me thenceforth to remain with you, no inconvenience or fatigue will be regarded. I think I shall be ready for sea in about three weeks."

In a later letter, on the 8th of July, he says, in reply to her expressed apprehensions that his vessel was an unsafe one:

"Though not comfortable, I consider her as *safe* a vessel as any whatever. She has the reputation of being an excellent sea-boat, and as we shall only be in ballast trim, she cannot be very uncomfortable.

"I am apprehensive of no rivals except from Boston; and if there are none fitted out this autumn I feel confident of being able to complete my voyage satisfactorily, so as to be with you again by August or September, 1807; and I assure you that so far from extending it, in order to make it better, I shall be ready to make any reasonable sacrifice in order to return within that period. As, however, it is a speculative kind of voyage, and one where you cannot expect to hear from me, let me beg you to indulge no unnecessary anxiety, as a thousand unforeseen events may occur to thwart my plans and keep me absent from all I hold most dear.

"I intend writing to Prince to make insurance on the full amount I shall have in this voyage, if it can be done at twenty-five per cent. against all risks, as I feel that, in case of its failure, it will be difficult to bring my mind to undertake another; and am more convinced than ever that it is acting more the part of wisdom to retire with means for a moderate and decent support with those without whom life is not worth having, rather than be absent drudging after affluence and luxury, even if that absence should secure it, of which there are always doubts.

"With even a very limited share of fortune, therefore, you may safely calculate on this being our last separation."

In a subsequent letter he gives her the following sketch of his proposed voyage:

"The *Aspasia* and cargo will cost $40,000, of which I hold an interest of $17,500, Mr. Shaler an equal amount, and a friend of ours in Philadelphia the remaining $5000. My intention now is to proceed directly to the Falkland Islands, unless I should find myself short of fruit and vegetables, in which case I shall stop at the Cape de Verde Islands.

"At the Falkland Islands we shall probably spend a week in filling up our water, getting a supply of live-stock, and putting our vessel in a fit state to encounter the rough weather that must always be expected in doubling Cape Horn. The first place I shall stop at after doubling the cape will be the Island of Chiloe, where it is probable I may dispose of part of my cargo; and from thence proceed northerly along the coast, touching at Aranco, Coquimbo, Pisco, Payta, and a hundred other little ports, till I have completed the sale of my cargo; and with only a tolerable share of success I can hardly fail of doing it, and, consequently, of being with you again in twelve months. Another object I have in view, which may lengthen the voyage, is the purchase of copper.

"This article has been very abundant and cheap on the coast, and if it continues to be so, I shall probably secure a large quantity of it; and as my vessel will not carry above one hundred tons of such an article, it is not unlikely I may take several loads and deposit them on some desert island in the neighborhood, and then proceed to China and charter a ship to send after it. This would lengthen the voyage to eighteen months, but the advantage derived from it will be such that I am sure you will approve of it. Such are the outlines of my plans, which must be varied according to circumstances and the information I receive. I trust I need not assure you that my voyage will not be extended unless something so brilliant should present itself that it would be weakness to let it pass. Mr. Prince informs me that he can make insurance against all risks for twenty-five per cent., and I have desired him to do it on my account for

$15,000, provided it extends to every risk that can be thought of. Shaler makes no insurance, as he thinks it worth as much to insure getting it in case of loss as to make the first insurance; but I feel that, on your account, it would be wrong in me to omit this precaution."

"RIO JANEIRO, *November* 10, 1806.

"When I wrote you last, as the pilot was leaving me in New York, I little expected my next would be from this place, and still less that dire necessity would be the cause; but so it is. Be not alarmed, however; our misfortunes are indeed trifling to what they might have been, and I consider the greatest to be that it will add to the contemplated time of our separation.

"Nothing of consequence occurred during the first month of our voyage. We had an uncommonly calm time, and, therefore, made but indifferent progress till the 10th September, when we took the trade wind, and from its violence next day almost wished for the calms we had previously been lamenting as a calamity.

"We were at this time in latitude 20° north, longitude 37° west, and were under double-reefed sails, with a considerable sea running, when, at two A.M., I was roused by the dismal cry of 'All hands, clear the wreck.' This was discordant music to me, who had all at risk, and, in case of its loss, should be doomed to almost perpetual banishment from those he holds most dear. On going on deck I found the foremast gone by the board, and hanging by the stay, which was fast at the mainmast head; the mainmast, tottering with this additional weight, at each roll appeared as if it must go also. But one sailor, more active than the others, went up, at the risk of his life, and cut away this stay, when the mast immediately fell alongside, taking with it the bowsprit, which broke just without the stem. At this time the main boom got loose, and in the endeavor to secure it one man was dangerously wounded.

"As it was dangerous having the spars alongside the vessel while we had so much sea, we got them to windward of her as soon as possible, but kept fast to them, in order to get them on board the following day. This we effected, notwithstanding a very high sea, and the consequent laboring of the vessel, which was increased prodigiously from the weight being so much lessened above the centre of gravity. The rolling was such that for some time we were in

expectation of seeing our mainmast go also. In the frequent necessity this disaster made for sending men to the masthead, one of them, when nearly up to the crosstrees, lost his hold and fell; but, the mainsail being only partly hoisted, made a bag, and he fell directly into it, otherwise he would have been dashed to pieces.

"After clearing the wreck we rigged a jury-mast, and began to make considerable way. Being again under sail, the next thing to be considered was the best plan to pursue; and after weighing the advantages and disadvantages, the prospects of success, and the probable expense of repairing, of each one that presented itself to my mind, I came to the determination to endeavor to get to Rio Janeiro, where, if we were not permitted to sell our cargo, we could easily repair our damages and proceed on the original plan. But it was by no means a trifling undertaking to attempt to get here in our crippled condition, and its success was very doubtful, since (presuming upon our good sailing) I had not gone nearly so far to the eastward as vessels are accustomed to do that cross the equator, and feared, therefore, that it would be impossible for us to double Cape St. Roque. Failing in this, I intended to go to Para (a Portuguese settlement nearly on the equator), and there endeavor to sell our cargo; and, if not permitted, to proceed to Trinidad, and there get information of the part of the Spanish coast where we should be most likely to succeed in *not* making a *losing voyage* (for this is the object we now had in view), and complete the unfortunate business by returning to America as expeditiously as possible.

"My mind being made up on this business, and having given directions in accordance with my decision, I had now leisure to reflect upon my situation, and, contrasting it with what it was but twenty-four hours before, I was more forcibly impressed than I have ever been with the uncertainty of everything connected with navigation.

"Could I now have transported myself to our home, even with the humiliating condition of living on a miserable $500 a year, most readily would I— But, stop a little, Mr. C.

"To live on such an annuity is entirely out of the question, and I still hold that it is better to perish in the honest endeavor to secure a decent independence, and be enabled to help one's friends, than to vegetate on such a pittance, and wear away life in discontented idleness.

"Without meeting with any other serious calamity we crossed

the equator on the 6th of October, and arrived here on the 24th of the same month. Here I found, as I expected, a very cordial welcome from all those who expected to be benefited by my misfortunes.

"This was evident, even on the part of the government linguist, who tried to make me believe I could only employ such mechanics as he named—with a view, no doubt, to charging double and dividing the plunder—whereat, my wrath being kindled, I made application to higher authority, and found I might employ whom I pleased.

"I then found I could have my work done for less than half what I was first told it would cost, yet it will require nearly or quite $2000 to pay for repairs.

"Both necessity and choice compel me to rig the *Aspasia* as a brig, as masts are not to be procured here for a schooner; and, if they were, I would not take them, as nothing can be so unwieldy, unsafe, and uncomfortable as so large a vessel rigged as a schooner.

"The officers who examined my vessel have allowed me forty-five days for repairs, which will doubtless be more than is necessary.

"I wish my adventures had been of a more pleasing nature, but they might have been much more serious ; and to have crossed such an immense space of ocean in safety, in the wretched predicament we were in, is sufficient cause for grateful emotion."

"RIO JANEIRO, *November* 15, 1806.

"Do not be apprehensive that I allow the accident I have met with to weigh upon my mind. It will probably lead to my making an arrangement here which will prolong my absence, and this I consider the greatest misfortune, for I find more and more that this separation is a kind of suspension of existence, and, so far from acting on my old principle of succeed or perish, I feel that to return to you, even with a total loss of property, is very desirable, and will afford great room for rejoicing; how much more, then, with sufficient to enable me to say 'We meet to part no more.' It is this hope which gives me courage to prosecute my plans, and while enlivened by it and in possession of such health as I constantly enjoy, I assure you I feel as much like subverting a government or throwing the Andes into the sea as ever I did in my life. I had been flattering myself on the passage here that I might possibly manage to finish the voyage here, and return immediately to America; and this,

probably, I should have been able to do, were not all commerce suspended between this and the River Plate in consequence of the English being there; and this has caused such a stagnation here as has not been known during the war. The English took Buenos Ayres, a city of twenty-five or thirty thousand inhabitants, with a force of only fifteen hundred men. The English general (Beresford) suffered himself to be lulled into the belief of security by the assurances of the bishop that the Spaniards were friendly to them, while, with the treachery of a Spaniard and the cunning of a priest, he was secretly plotting their destruction. When all was ready the English were suddenly attacked by an immense rabble, and were forced to capitulate. It is reported, however, that the Spaniards broke the capitulation, and were guilty of cruelties that would disgrace the savages of North America.

"I expect to be ready to leave in about three weeks, but whether in the *Aspasia*, on the original plan, is very doubtful, as I contemplate making an arrangement for a Portuguese ship, which has a royal license for Lima. If I succeed I shall either dispose of the *Aspasia* or send her to Havre with a load of jerked beef. Such a plan must necessarily lengthen my absence, as to load a ship of three hundred and sixty tons at Lima, and return here, will take till next June or July, so that it will be late in the autumn before I shall be in Lisbon. While affairs in Europe are so uncertain it will be only consistent with common prudence to touch here on my way back, otherwise I should proceed directly from Lima to Lisbon, which would save much time and expense. Could I be certain of adopting this plan, and as certain of arriving safely in Lisbon, I should certainly propose your meeting me there, and spending the following winter with me in Italy, but it is too uncertain for you to run the risk and bear the fatigue of such a voyage with a possibility of disappointment. If I conclude this arrangement I shall go much more at my ease than in the *Aspasia*, besides running less risk of seizure; but what most influences me is the greater chance of profit; for, having a large ship, I expect to make more on the return than on the outward cargo.

"22*d*.—Had the bearer of this sailed a week ago, as he expected, you would doubtless, on reception of my letter, have made up your mind to an additional year's separation, as I had then serious thoughts

of going to Lima and Lisbon; but I have now the pleasure of informing you that I yesterday made an arrangement which, barring accidents, will enable me to be with you in May or June next. I need not assure you how extremely pleasing this is to me, especially as the prospect is as good as anything I could calculate on in my original plan.

"I have sold the cargo of the *Aspasia* at its cost, and am to receive the amount of it in jerked beef at about $3 per cwt., to be delivered at the Island of St. Catherine's. It will amount to nine or ten thousand quintals; and, as the *Aspasia* will hardly carry two thousand, I have contracted for the Portuguese ship before mentioned, and we shall be ready to leave for St. Catherine's in fifteen or twenty days. I think we shall not be detained more than a month in loading, so that we may expect to sail for Havana by the 20th of January, 1807.

"My first mate, Mr. Rodgers, will take charge of the *Aspasia*, and I will go in the ship, the captain and officers of which are to be under my orders.

"To proceed directly to Havana from a Spanish port would, doubtless, be the height of imprudence, but from a port of a nation at peace with Great Britain I conceive to be as safe as from the United States, especially at this time, when there can be no suspicion of my being from the River Plate.

"If the suspension of all commerce with that river operates against me in the sale of my outward cargo, it must act correspondingly in my favor in the sale of the beef at Havana, as the supply which they have been in the habit of receiving is now entirely cut off.

"My fortune once hung entirely on coffee, and it turned out a ragged one. It now hangs entirely on beef, and we shall soon know its fate. In any event, I shall have the satisfaction of knowing that each day brings me nearer to you, at the same time that I am pursuing a plan that promises more profit, with less risk, than cruising on the coasts of Chili and Peru."

"RIO JANEIRO, *December* 4, 1806.

"It is but few days since I sent you, by the *Criterion*, Captain Chase, a long detail of our adventures, and of my future intentions. I still consider my plan far more eligible than the original one. I

have been enabled to despatch the *Aspasia* much sooner than I expected, by giving something more for the beef, which I considered more advantageous than keeping her here two months. I wish it were in my power to get away as soon, for I consider every day's absence from home as so much time completely lost; but two months will soon be gone, and then each day I shall be making advances towards that delightful retreat from whence nothing but cold poverty or the prospect of it shall again separate me. But who, alas! has more reason to dread this? With what a series of misfortunes have I not been assailed for the past three years, and with what confidence can I now expect to escape the pirates in the West Indies? I expect to meet with British ships of war, but do not fear them, as my business is regular, and such as will bear the nicest scrutiny by those who act uprightly; but should I meet with any of those privateers the consequences may be serious, as they respect the property of no one. I will not, however, dwell on the dark side of the picture, and the pleasing thought of meeting you in June will enable me to bear even a greater misfortune, though this would be complete ruin, and make it necessary for me to plough the ocean yet for many years.

"I fear you may find the winter dull in the country, though the resources you have in your piano, books, etc., are so much greater than are usual, yet a little of the noise of the town at this dreary season is by no means unpleasant."

A short letter from Rio Janeiro, written three weeks later, contains the following:

"I shall leave here to-morrow for St. Catherine's, and with prospects extremely flattering, as we know that no beef has been shipped from the River Plate these four months past, and, except what is now laden on board American ships, there will probably be no more at all, as the English are going with sufficient force to take it, and it is not likely they will permit Americans to have any share in the commerce. Notwithstanding everything concurs to lead me to suppose that I shall terminate my voyage advantageously, yet so perverse is my fortune of late that I count on nothing with confidence. A few months, however, will determine whether I am to enjoy the

happiness of a home with you or continue to be an exile for years."

It may be mentioned here, for the benefit of those readers who are not familiar with the Havana trade, that jerked beef from South America constituted one of the chief articles of import for the consumption, mostly, of the slave population.

Owing to its perishable nature, it was never allowed to be landed in bulk, but was sold by the quintal from the ship in which it arrived. This method, of course, involved a long detention of the vessel in Havana.

"ST. CATHERINE'S, *February* 6, 1807.

"I expected before this to have been on my way to Havana, but have been disappointed in the reception of our cargo. One half of it, however, is now here, and the remainder will be very soon, so that, making every allowance, I do not think we shall be detained later than the 1st of March, and I may yet be with you before the end of June.

"This town contains about four thousand inhabitants, mostly creoles, and there are about one thousand regular troops here. The government is military and perfectly despotic: but only think of investing an illiterate man, who has risen from the ranks, with such power! Such is the present governor. He, however, keeps most excellent order. One of our sailors happened to meet him in the street, and, not knowing him, neglected to take off his hat, for which offence he was immediately arrested and put in the stocks for an hour. . . .

"There are some beautiful walks in the environs of the town, where I sometimes ramble alone for hours, thinking of home and of those who are dear to me, till I become so impatient that I could almost sacrifice everything if I could be there by so doing. I often wish you could partake of the fine melons, peaches, pineapples, etc., which we are daily consuming.

"But four or five months will soon wear off, and then—I was going to say—I shall be at home; but I foresee difficulties and dangers

now to which I have hitherto been unaccustomed. A privateer may take me, or I may be shipwrecked, and then 'farewell to all my greatness.' Yet I cannot help thinking that all will turn out right, especially when I reflect how often I have been conducted right even in spite of myself. You know how much my heart was set upon a voyage to the River Plate with you for my companion, and how reluctant I was to abandon it; yet, had I undertaken that voyage in the large ship, as I contemplated, ruin would have been the inevitable consequence, as all the ships that sailed about that time from America have been so long embargoed by the English being there that those which had received their cargoes of beef have had it all spoiled; and those which had not sold their outward cargo have been lying there at great expense, and will finally be obliged to carry them away again."

Of his experiences subsequent to this letter I quote the account from his published "Narrative," with the addition of an occasional introduction of a letter written at the time.

"Having decided on the plan I was now prosecuting, I had written by two opportunities from Rio Janeiro to my friends in Boston, requesting to have insurance effected if possible. But these were precarious times for neutrals, when the two great belligerents agreed in nothing else than plundering them, and I was aware of the uncertainty whether insurance could be effected at any rate.

"On the presumption, however, that such neutral commerce as did not, even in a remote degree, prejudice the interests of the belligerents would be unmolested, I felt that I had little else than the sea-risk to guard against, and was therefore free from anxiety on the subject of insurance.

"Having accomplished our lading, after waiting for the last part of our cargo till my patience was nearly exhausted, we finally weighed anchor and sailed for Havana in the *Telemaco* on the 15th of February, 1807.

"A few degrees south of the equator we fell in with a British frigate, by which we were subjected to a rigid scrutiny, the result of which was a conviction of the neutrality of the property, the legal-

ity of the voyage, and, consequently, that no motive existed for detention. By the captain and officers of this ship I was treated with great civility, and on parting they wished me a pleasant voyage to Havana. A similar investigation, with a like result, by a British sloop-of-war, from which we were boarded a few days afterwards, encouraged the belief that I had nothing to apprehend from British vessels of war.

"With these impressions I perceived no other obstacle to my reaching Havana than the sea-risk, and, with the certainty of reaping an immense profit on my adventure, my imagination often dwelt on the joy of a happy return to my family with a fortune which would supersede the necessity of leaving it again. But these pleasing anticipations were soon destined to pass into the regions of airy castles.

"Early on a fine morning, when about a hundred and fifty miles to windward of the island of Martinique, we descried a number of vessels to westward, which proved to be a fleet of English vessels of war. Being nearest the *Ramillies*, of seventy-four guns, we were boarded from that ship, and on learning that the fleet was commanded by Admiral Cochrane my heart sank within me.

"All my confidence resulting from the ordeal to which we had recently been subjected, combined with my entire conviction of the innocence and legality of the voyage, were insufficient to banish the apprehension that we should be sent in for adjudication.

"The boarding-officer from the *Ramillies* was a young man of good appearance, but totally deficient in every attribute of the gentleman except the garb. His behavior to the captain of the *Telemaco* and to myself while on board our own ship was marked by all that insolence, arrogance, and impudence which are the acknowledged peculiarities of a coward when conscious of being free from danger. As the captain of the *Telemaco* did not speak English, I accompanied this brutal officer on board the *Ramillies* with the ship's papers. My reception by the venerable and respectable commander of the ship formed a perfect contrast with that of the boarding-officer. He was evidently one of the old school, urbane and gentlemanly, with manners and deportment as much at variance with those of his subalterns as were the courtiers of the time of the Louis's with the *sans culottes* of our day. After a thorough examination

of our papers, in which he was assisted by two of his officers, no cause was found for our detention, and the papers were consequently returned to me by the commander, who wished me a good voyage and sent me again on board my vessel. . . . We had scarcely filled away our sails, however, when the admiral having approached us, and the information having been conveyed to him by signal whence we came and whither bound, without deigning to see us or our papers, he ordered our ship to be taken possession of and conducted to Tortola. Accordingly a boat from the *Cerberus* brought the requisite number of men to take possession, and took our ship's company, including myself, on board that frigate."

This information he conveys to my mother in the following letter:

"TORTOLA, *April* 24, 1807.

"It is with grief, my dear wife, that I am under the necessity of informing you of my having been sent into *this place* for adjudication. I emphasize on 'this place' because I believe, of all the detestable nests of pirates that ever the world was cursed with, this is the worst.

"We arrived yesterday, and I shall know in a day or two whether we shall be dismissed, or whether the affair is to be decided by a court of vice-admiralty. In the former case I shall be off immediately; in the latter, I am told, it will take twenty or twenty-five days to determine, at which period, from the perishable nature of the cargo, I have my doubts whether, in case it is cleared, I had better receive or abandon it. In case of condemnation I shall appeal, and have no doubt of the decree being reversed. I know not whether any insurance has been effected for me; but, admitting it has been, I know the difficulty of recovering from those gentlemen.

"At any rate, I foresee many years of toil and trouble, and, what is infinitely worse, separation from you and all I hold dear in life, compared with which any other misfortune is light.

"25*th*.—I find the rascals intend to proceed against me. I shall endeavor to compromise if possible; if not, as my cargo is composed of a perishable article, they will proceed to business immediately, and the affair will soon be determined."

"TORTOLA, *May* 1, 1807.

"While waiting the motions of the indolent and unfeeling lawyers and agents, who, from being inured to scenes of distress, and not unfrequently seeing our unfortunate countrymen dying in despair, are perfectly callous to every feeling of humanity, and consequently deaf to my entreaties for completing the business and shortening my period of torture as much as possible, I sit down to beguile a moment and suspend unpleasant reflection by writing to you. . . . Though I may be condemned in this detestable sink of iniquity, the decree will certainly be reversed in England, where, for the honor of the nation, they must discountenance such wicked and unparalleled decisions as are frequently made here. Indeed, Tortola is so notorious that, although, in coming here after being taken, we passed by Antigua, where there is a superior court and a judge of respectability, Admiral Cochrane chose to send us here, well knowing that he could rely upon the decision being in his favor.

"But while I reflect upon all the suffering which may ensue from this misfortune; that it must involve a protracted and uncertain separation from you; that, if no insurance has been effected, I am utterly ruined; that, having undertaken this part of the voyage without the concurrence of Shaler he will be an innocent sufferer from my misfortune, and that my drafts from Rio Janeiro will be falling due in America just when the news of this seizure reaches there, my sympathies for an unfortunate English captain who lately left here exceed even the anguish caused by my own experience, and I am tempted to tell you the story that you may see to what lengths Admiral Cochrane will go to acquire only a paltry sum, and may judge by this what enormities such a monster would be guilty of were a greater temptation offered.

"When Jerome Bonaparte made a sweep in the West Indies last summer he took a ship at Montserrat which belonged to this captain, and which was his all. The ship was taken to St. Martin's, where the captain, expecting to get her very cheap, went and bought her, and, to raise funds for payment, drew bills on Tortola, where he expected to have a freight for his ship to Europe and to pay his drafts by his freight-money; but the poor fellow, on his way from St. Martin's to Tortola, fell in with the brave Cochrane, who seized his ship and sent her in here, where, to the astonishment even of the

rogues of this island, she was condemned. The poor, unfortunate captain, who has a family in England, not being able to pay his debts, was thrown into prison, where he lay for several months, and the ship, with another owner, sailed a few days since for Europe. Could any misfortune be more aggravating and distressing than this, to be distressed and driven to despair by a servant of the government he contributed to support, and from whom he ought to have had protection. I think I never heard of any injustice to be compared with it; but, indeed, the character of the British naval officer is astonishingly degenerated. In any former war they would have despised the system of plunder and piracy they are now pursuing. For the several days I had the misfortune to be on board their ships the conversation of the officers consisted entirely of what they hoped to share from different prizes, so that I felt more as if I were with a band of robbers than with the officers of a great government, bent upon maintaining its dignity."

"ST. THOMAS, *May* 3, 1807.

"It seems as if all of those with whom I am under the necessity of having anything to do were doomed to partake of my misfortunes. In order to vary the scene, and hoping to gather some intelligence of the *Aspasia*, I left Tortola the day before yesterday for this place. The distance is only about four hours' sail, but, as we left Tortola late in the afternoon, and had only a light breeze, we were under the necessity of being out in the night. About one o'clock I was awakened by a jar of the vessel, and at first presumed we were alongside some vessel in port, but a second shock, attended with a roar of the sea, undeceived me, and, on going on deck, I found we were on a dangerous reef of rocks. The vessel immediately bilged, and the cabin filled with water. I had not time to get my little trunk up before everything in it was completely wet; and, while going ashore in the boat, we had a heavy rain, which wet me through, and in this situation had to remain on the shore till daylight; yet I thought not of my own situation. To see the distress of the captain, who owned the vessel, which was the fruits of many years' hard labor, and that of the owner of the cargo and his family, who assembled shortly after our landing, and who had now lost their little all, and were reduced to beggary, was distressing in the extreme. They groaned, wrung their hands, tore their hair, stamped

on the ground, and, indeed, seemed distracted. But, enough; shall I never have anything but scenes of distress to relate to you? I fear not, and wonder for what I am yet reserved.

"I can learn nothing of the *Aspasia*. If she has not arrived safe it may be best that I do not know it, for I have enough to bear already."

"TORTOLA, *May* 22, 1807.

"I have not been disappointed in my expectations. My vessel and cargo are condemned, and for reasons the most frivolous, which I have not now time to give you, for, after having engaged my passage in a fast-sailing vessel for New York, and while comforting myself with the prospect of being soon by your side, the agent of the captors came forward, and offered me my ship and cargo for less than a third the original cost, and, as an additional inducement, was ready to engage that I should not again be molested by British cruisers. Can you conceive of more barefaced villainy? Yet, in order that I may leave nothing undone to save any portion of the unfortunate concern, I am going again to St. Thomas, to endeavor to raise the money by selling a part of the cargo, deliverable in Havana, or by other means, so that I can realize thirty-five or forty thousand dollars, which will be better than having recourse to the Lords of Appeal in London and waiting one or two years for their decision.

"Nothing but a sense of duty should add a single day to the absence which has already been so tedious."

"ST. THOMAS, *May* 24, 1809.

"The enlivening idea of shortly meeting you dissipates the gloom that would otherwise take possession of me, and is a consolation in my disappointment here in procuring funds for the ransom of my ship and cargo. I cannot raise the sum on any terms that will answer, and think now only of settling my affairs and returning to you as soon as possible.

"I do not know that it is not for the best that I cannot compass my object; because, if I did, I must necessarily give up the appeal, and lose the insurance, which, I think, must have been made; but it was proper I should leave nothing undone that was in my power to save the property. To-morrow I shall go again to Tortola. I

hope and trust for the last time, as every object that meets my view there is disgusting in the extreme. If I had time I would give you a sketch of it, but I must leave it till we meet. Would that I could sleep or remain insensible till that time.

"*June* 6.—I am now on the point of embarking for home, after being completely stripped of the fruits of many years' hard toil. I say completely, though it may not be literally so, because there is hardly a doubt but some insurance is made for me; and, if so, I do not see any way the underwriters can escape paying, though I doubt not they will try hard for it. But whatever subterfuges or cunning they may make use of for this purpose will have no tendency to lower my opinion of my fellow-mortals. After the villainy I have seen practised at Tortola, by men whose power and riches not only give them a currency among the most respectable, but make their society even courted, I blush for the baseness of mankind, and almost lament that I am one of the same species.

"I see by the papers that William has returned, and, while I rejoice that he is safe and well, I cannot help fearing he has not succeeded according to his expectations, or he would not have returned so soon, as his ship was well fitted for a much longer absence; but it is, doubtless, all for the best. You will, perhaps, wonder at this observation from me at the moment when I am suffering such accumulated misfortunes; but continued resources present themselves, and, if I am not under the necessity of hanging on my friends, all will soon be right again. If I have the delight of finding you and the boy well I shall soon forget my sorrows, and two or three months at home will repay an age of care."

His summing-up of the events of this outrage, as given in his published "Narrative," is so graphic and pathetic that I give it in full:

"Having settled my accounts and secured my appeal papers, I left Tortola on the 25th of May, more than a month from the date of my arrival. During that month scarce a day had passed in which I was not subjected to some angry altercation, some unnecessary provocation, some feverish excitement from my opponents, or some trouble and anxiety from complaints and uneasiness of the officers

and crew of our ship; and this under the scorching influence of a vertical sun. But I had the happiness to escape the fever, which this combination of causes was calculated to produce, and to retain my health. As I left the harbor, on my way to St. Thomas, I passed near the *Telemaco*, which lay there by virtue of the right of the strong over the weak. The distinction between this act of piracy and those of a like character by the ancient buccaneers must be perceived to consist alone in the circumstance that the former is sanctioned by kindred banditti, termed a vice-admiralty court, and the latter were too magnanimous to practise such hypocrisy. The annals of the times, however, were fertile in the details of such atrocious invasions of the rights of neutrals, the one party justifying its thefts by those of the other.

"To have practised the self-denial incident to leaving my family for so long a time; to have succeeded in reaching Rio Janeiro after being dismasted and suffering all the toils and anxieties of a voyage of forty-three days in that crippled condition; to have surmounted the numerous obstacles and risks attendant on the peculiarity of the transactions in port; to have accomplished the business of lading and despatching the vessels, in defiance of great obstacles, and to perceive the fortune almost within my grasp which would secure me ease and independence for the remainder of my life—and then, by the irresistible means of brute force, to see the whole swept off, and myself and family thereby reduced in a moment from affluence to poverty, must be admitted to be a calamity of no ordinary magnitude. It required, indeed, the exercise of great fortitude and patience, and naturally led to the perception of the truth that we experience a greater amount of misery from the evil passions of our fellow-men than from hurricanes, lightning, earthquakes, and the warring elements combined. Fortunately I possessed an elasticity of mind which adapted itself to circumstances. I was accustomed to contend with difficulties, and disciplined by a long course of losses and disappointments, and, when suffering under them, I habitually looked round for the means to remedy them. I was soon enabled, therefore, to throw off much of the weight of this misfortune. Some mitigation of its effect was produced by the hope that insurance on the property might have been effected, and that the *Aspasia* might have accomplished her voyage successfully."

Just before arriving in New York he begins a letter, on the 29th of June, 1807, in which occurs the following passage:

"Although my misfortunes are of a very serious nature, yet you need not fear you will see me with a long face and a clouded brow; for, whether ruined or not, the prospect of meeting you and the dear boy is enough to dissipate every gloomy idea; and if I find you both well, and can possibly stem the torrent without hanging on my friends, I will bid defiance to adversity. Indeed, I am astonished at the facility with which the mind can adapt itself to circumstances; and although, before experiencing them, I was doubtful whether such accumulated misfortune would not be sufficient to drive reason from her throne, I now find that, so far from it, I eat as well, sleep as well, feel as well, and can set about remedying the evil with as much spirit as I ever could in my life. I am a little apprehensive, however, that those who become acquainted with the extent of my misfortunes will say—if not openly, at least secretly—'That man must be guilty of murder or some dreadful crime to be so particularly marked for chastisement.' But these will be only the superstitious, and we will convince them that perseverance and enterprise will overcome the greatest obstacles."

The news which met him on arrival was enough to test severely his determination not to be cast down by adversity, and his first letter after landing, on the 4th of July, shows plainly how heavily it weighed upon his spirits. The account he gives of it in his "Narrative," however, cannot be condensed or improved.

Learning that his cousin, Stephen Higginson, was in town, he lost no time in seeking him.

"But it was hastening only to be the earlier acquainted with disasters even greater than I had imagined. On meeting him, I perceived a shadow cast over that benevolent countenance, which had hitherto always beamed with smiles and joy when meeting me after an absence, which argued but too clearly that my worst anticipa-

tions were about being confirmed. He told me that, in consequence of some new orders in council about the time my letters were received, desiring insurance to be made, the offices became so alarmed that it could not be effected at a less premium than thirty-three and a third per cent., which my friends would not consent to give; hence no insurance had been made on the property, and the loss was for account of Mr. Shaler and myself.

"Nor was this all; he was grieved to say that the *Aspasia* and cargo were also a total loss. The melancholy detail was that she had arrived safe at Havana and sold the cargo at $15 per quintal, and with the proceeds—about $60,000—had laden with coffee and sugar for New York; that when off Cape Hatteras a gale was encountered, in which she was thrown on her beam-ends and half filled with water, which ruined the cargo. The master, Rogers, was swept away and lost, and she finally reached Norfolk in a most distressed state, where the amount of all that was saved was little more than enough to pay the wages of the men. To crown the whole, the agent in New York had not been informed of the shipment from Havana, and consequently no insurance had been effected. I could not imagine any addition to these misfortunes because I had nothing more at risk, yet I perceived that there was something to be yet unfolded. To this overwhelming detail was yet to be added another item, which would fill my cup to overflowing—the failure of a friend and relation on whose paper I was an endorser, and had become responsible for $6000. The aggregate of these losses, estimating the value of the *Telemaco's* cargo at the rate at which the *Aspasia's* was sold, and the ship at what was paid for her, and independent of all profit on an investment of the funds at Havana for New York, would amount to $150,000. All doubts relative to the entire prostration of my fortune were now dissolved, all hope of there being some remnant left was annihilated, and the world was to be begun anew under the pressure of increased responsibilities. But the reflection that no part of the property was on credit, that I had not involved others in my losses, was eminently consolatory. And the pleasing contemplation of meeting my family again after this first and long absence from them, and before having experienced anything of the inconvenience and embarrassment resulting from such misfortunes, combined to check their naturally depressing effect on my spirits.

"Those who have found sufficient interest in the preceding pages to be induced to follow me in my subsequent enterprises will find abundant evidence that my forebodings were fully realized in the repeated, long, and painful separations from those whom it was no less my duty than it would have been my happiness to watch over and protect. Compelled to navigate for the support of my family, and deprived in consequence of superintending the education of my children, worn with anxiety, and sick at heart with hope deferred, it will be seen that I was for many years an exile from all that rendered life dear and desirable; and this as a consequence of the robbery of my hard-earned fortune by Admiral Cochrane. If his enjoyment of this property, so wickedly obtained, bears any proportion to the years of suffering caused the proprietor by its loss, it affords the strongest presumptive evidence of a perversion of mind which must meet its correction hereafter."

CHAPTER VII.

1808, 1809.

The Embargo.—Voyage to Africa.—Goes to England in Search of Business.—Thence, Secretly, to Holland, and Home as Bearer of Despatches.—Voyage to Naples.—Vessel and Cargo Seized and Confiscated.—Life at Naples and Rome.

THE year 1808 was marked in commercial annals by the embargo, which was rendered necessary by the spoliations of the English, and which necessarily put a stop to all nautical enterprises from this country. Merchants who had ships abroad of course hastened to get them home before the enforcement of the decree, and my father was employed by the owners of a Salem vessel to go in search of her to the coast of Africa and bring her home without delay. The latest accounts of the vessel were that, after having collected a rich cargo, the captain had died, and the mate was finishing the work of disposing of what remained of the outward cargo. The errand was successfully accomplished, and after its completion he took passage, *via* Halifax, for England, in order to place himself in the current of business and be ready to avail himself of any opportunity that might offer a prospect of lucrative returns.

Owing to adverse winds they arrived at Halifax too late for the Falmouth packet, and waited a fortnight for an opportunity to embark; then sailed in a brig

bound for Lochraine, on the Clyde, where he arrived on the 4th of October.

From thence he travelled to London by post, "making the journey in four days, with a degree of comfort, ease, and celerity such as, probably, could not be experienced at the time in any other country in the world."

The number of French prizes which had been brought into Plymouth, and the consequent abundance and cheapness of French wines, suggested the advantage of taking a cargo of them to the Isle of France; and, while in doubt as to the means of accomplishing it, he met accidentally with a friend just arrived in a fine ship for which he had no fixed destination. Entering into arrangements with him, they purchased a quantity of wine, and had nearly completed the preparations for taking it on board when they were forced to abandon it by the enactment of some new regulations which prevented their obtaining the requisite clearance, without which insurance could not be effected. During this period he writes as follows:

"LONDON, *December* 13, 1808.

"While waiting for the decision of the commissioners of excise relative to our business, I have filled up the time as much as possible in visiting the various objects most worthy the stranger's attention, particularly those I did not see when I was formerly here, such as the British Museum, several private exhibitions of wonderful mechanism; Greenwich, the Magdalen, and Foundling hospitals; and Mr. West's collection of paintings. I was introduced to Mr. West, a good-looking man between fifty and sixty, whose placid countenance indicates a mind that has not been agitated by the passions with which mankind are generally afflicted from jarring interests and the necessary intercourse with each other. I soon discovered that he had a correct way of thinking on politics, and therefore

had a long conversation with him on the subject. As, from his profession and studies, he must be totally unprejudiced, and must necessarily view the subject on the grand scale, unbiassed by any of those mean considerations which lead the generality of mankind to subscribe to one opinion in preference to another, you will naturally, suppose I was delighted to perceive how we harmonized. Notwithstanding he admits the troubles of Europe to have been great for these several years past, he thinks them as nothing compared to what they will be, and he considers the embargo in America as the wisest measure the government could have adopted, and the only preventive to her participating in the calamities with which Europe is afflicted. Ruin to some and great inconvenience to all the commercial interests must doubtless result from it, but he was clearly of opinion that it was the least of two evils, the only wise measure that could have been adopted, and ought to be persisted in.

"Indeed, my dear, after the rejection by this government of the proposals made by Mr. Pinckney, which you will learn by the *Hope*, it is my opinion that those who are desirous of having the embargo raised know not the interests of their country, or, knowing them and continuing in the desire, are not worthy the name of Americans. But those, I believe, will be few. After the election is decided, I have no doubt the Federals will agree to the wisdom of the measures.

"But enough of politics. Shaler left here for Holland about a month before my arrival. I regretted exceedingly not having fallen in with him, because I wished him to have been interested in my present expedition, though, if it should prove unsuccessful, I should regret much that he was engaged in it, so that I have less anxiety. I have not yet heard from him, although I have written him two or three times. He thinks of returning to America in the spring, and I hope he will make you a visit at Lancaster.

"I have given George sketches of several expeditions, with the view that, if affairs continue as they are, he may take advantage of them by coming to this country and placing himself in fortune's way. William will doubtless remain at home, if not till my return, at least till he knows the issue of my voyage; for, if we obtain the clearance I expect to have, I flatter myself I shall make enough to secure us both against the necessity of ever leaving our dear wives again."

The disappointment of being forced to abandon this voyage was great, as he had formed sanguine hopes of very lucrative results; but its force was in some degree mitigated by an advance in the price of wines which secured a very considerable profit on a resale of those they had purchased.

While on his way to Plymouth to attend to this business he was attacked with pleurisy at Exeter, and had a very narrow escape from death, which would probably have resulted, but for the attentions of his friends in London, in sending an experienced nurse, to whose care he always felt himself indebted for his life. The effect of this was so serious that his recovery was delayed, and he was urged by his physician to seek a milder climate till his health was fully restored.

From the window of his sick-room in Exeter, before he was well enough to be removed to London, he saw the remnant of the army just landed at Plymouth from Corunna, after the memorable retreat under Sir John Moore, who was killed on the eve of its embarkation, and I have often heard him speak with much feeling of the utterly wretched and woebegone appearance they presented as they passed through the town.

His letters from London, during the whole period of his prolonged detention, betray continually his affectionate nature and his longings for home, and at the same time the activity of his mind in studying and devising means for retrieving his fortune, to the end that he might secure the gratification he so coveted. The following extract from a single letter may serve as a sample of the tone which pervades them all:

"LONDON, *April* 29, 1809.

"Another opportunity for America enables me to assure you that I am now quite strong, and even in better flesh than before my illness.

* * * * * * *

"On the receipt of a letter of this late date, you will wonder if I never intend leaving London, and what charms I find to keep me here. Indeed, my dear, if no other enjoyment was found than I have experienced here, few strangers would visit it to wear off their ennui. It is to be presumed, however, that those who come here for that purpose have minds more at ease than that of your husband.

"Neither would I be understood to imply that I have not partaken of many of the recreations this great city affords; but while admiring the wonderful powers of a Siddons or a Kemble in tragedy, the fine music and dancing at the opera, the perfect deception of some of the panoramas, etc., the enjoyment has always been dampened by the reflection on my pecuniary embarrassments, and the consequence which follows as its shadow—the necessity of absence from home and the domestic enjoyments—compared with which everything this gay city can offer is as 'dust in the balance.' While speaking of theatres, I believe I have not told you that the two great ones of London, Covent Garden and Drury Lane, have been destroyed by fire, the former about a month before my arrival, the latter while I was at Exeter, and, as a consequence, a great many industrious people have been thrown out of employment, and a great many idle ones disappointed of their accustomed amusement.

"I had flattered myself with the hope that by this opportunity I should have been able to inform you what plan I intended pursuing, but am sorry to say I am as yet unable to do so. I have several objects in view; but such are the changes in the disposition of the governments of the two great belligerents towards America, such orders and counter-orders, decrees and revocations, that the plan determined on to-day must be abandoned to-morrow. I am thinking of chartering a vessel for the Baltic, there to lade with Russian manufactures for America. This speculation on a large capital would give a very handsome return, but on so small an amount as I can control it would be but a bare living. A voyage to the Isle of France is almost the only one not affected by the raising of the em-

bargo, which can be prosecuted with much chance of success. This, to be undertaken from hence in a swift sailing-vessel with such a cargo as could be easily procured, would give an immense profit, but as the island is declared in a state of blockade, it can only be undertaken in a vessel that can be depended on for her superior sailing, and such are not always to be met with. If I go to Russia and meet with no accidents, I shall be with you in August or September. If I pursue the other plan, it will probably absorb another year; but I need not assure you how earnestly I wish the time of our separation passed; how much I long to see you and all the cheerful circle at home. It is, indeed, cruel and mortifying to be obliged to wander from such a home, after making such exertions and sacrifices as I have made; yet, even among the small circle of Americans now here, I can look round and see several (perhaps more deserving than myself) who have greater cause to complain of Fortune. It is doubtless best to endeavor to persuade ourselves that it is all right; but it is no easy task."

Before he recovered his strength sufficiently to attempt the execution of any of these plans, a new one presented itself which seemed sufficiently promising to warrant the necessary risk attending it. This was the taking of a cargo from Holland to the United States. The difficulty was in getting from England to Holland at the time when all the Continental powers had been compelled by Napoleon to unite in cutting off all intercourse with Great Britain.

It was impossible openly to evade such restriction, and the risk was, of course, very great in attempting it secretly, but perhaps for that very reason all the more tempting to one of such adventurous disposition.

With his usual caution he refrained from mentioning in his letters anything that could afford a clew to his real design, but merely tells his wife that he was about undertaking a journey for which he required only

what baggage he could carry in his hand, and had therefore shipped his trunks on a vessel bound for Boston, and hoped, ere long, to follow them in person. He then, in company with a friend who had been associated with him in the purchase and sale of the wine, embarked on board a fishing-smack the master of which had agreed to land them on the coast of Holland. Approaching the shore on a still night, and after listening for a time to make sure they were unobserved, they were landed between eleven and twelve o'clock among the sand dunes of the coast near The Brielle. The skipper had given them careful instructions as to their course, and they made their way towards the town till they could hear the clocks striking, and then waited for daylight in a hollow of the hills of sand.

At dawn they were aroused by a trampling which they were apprehensive might be the patrol, but which proved to be only a herd of cows driven by a boy who was greatly alarmed at seeing them, but was speedily pacified, and directed them to an inn, where they were cordially welcomed by the host and hostess, who had no sympathy with the rigorous exclusion of strangers. After a good breakfast and careful instructions from the landlord, they went with a crowd of passengers on board a canal-boat, and proceeded without molestation to Amsterdam.

They found at once that their expectation of large profits on the exports of Holland to the United States would be realized if they could succeed in despatching a cargo before the 1st of July, when the English government had given notice that a blockade would commence.

With the aid of an influential mercantile house this was accomplished. A ship was chartered, loaded, and despatched to New York before the blockade began. She arrived safely, and the results of the voyage were quite equal to their anticipations. He had intended taking passage for home in this ship, but meeting in Amsterdam with his old friend Shaler, he was induced to remain in order to unite with him in the execution of a plan which promised an immense result, but which they were forced to abandon in consequence of the combined obstacles of the invasion of the Scheldt by a formidable force under Lord Chatham, and a general embargo in Holland.

This seemed to cut off the possibility even of egress from the country except by land; but fortunately the American minister to France, General Armstrong, was then on a visit to Holland, and being desirous of sending despatches to his government, obtained the release of the ship *Montezuma*, of Baltimore, from the embargo, and my father took passage in her for that port as bearer of despatches. The ship being in ballast, no cause existed for detention by British cruisers; but they had proceeded but little way from port before they were boarded from a frigate with the inquiry why they were released from the embargo.

On being informed that it was by special permission, at the request of the American minister, who wished to send despatches to the United States of which my father was the bearer, the officer desired him to accompany the captain of the *Montezuma* on board the frigate, taking with him the despatches. This was de-

clined, as was also the request to send the despatches on board by the captain. The boarding officer then threatened to use compulsion. By this time the frigate had drawn near and was hailed by the boarding officer, who informed his superior that there was a bearer of despatches to the United States government on board who refused to leave the ship or give up the despatches except on compulsion.

"Then let him stay and be damned," was the reply, and the ship's papers being found to be in order, they were permitted to proceed on their course.

They arrived in Baltimore on the 3d of November, after a long and stormy passage, and my father having suffered greatly from a bilious fever, contracted by too early an exposure to the damp atmosphere of Holland after his severe illness at Exeter, was too feeble to go to Washington, and accordingly delivered the despatches to the collector of the port to be forwarded.

After waiting a day or two in Baltimore to recruit, he proceeded by easy stages to his home in Lancaster, Massachusetts, where he arrived on the 12th of November in a weak and emaciated condition.

One month later, on the 3d of December, 1809, he again left his home on a new excursion to Europe, induced by the first intelligence of a departure from the rigid exclusion of foreign commerce, which had so long been maintained. The port of Naples was opened to neutral commerce with such appearance of good faith that insurance on adventures there could be effected at reasonable rates.

He immediately went to Boston and purchased the

schooner *Maria*, of one hundred and seventy tons, and took on board a valuable cargo for account of merchants in Boston, on condition of receiving half profits in lieu of freight.

He arrived safely at Naples, and was subjected to a very long quarantine; the tedium of which was relieved by the information that no article of his cargo would produce less than one hundred per cent. profit, and this notwithstanding the fact that before the term of quarantine had expired upward of thirty vessels arrived from the United States, allured by the flattering prospect presented by the opening of a port which had so long been closed.

But by a refinement of baseness and cruelty to which it would be hard to find a parallel in the history of the civilized world, the game being thus enticed within the power of Napoleon, the net was sprung, and every vessel was seized and confiscated. Without even the formality of a trial the cargoes were taken out and sold, together with the vessels, in the most hurried manner and for prompt payment.

My father's reflections upon the moral aspect of this robbery as compared with that he had previously suffered at the hands of Lord Cochrane are such as would occur to any upright mind in comparing the act of the highwayman who demands your money at the muzzle of a pistol with that of the swindler who robs you under the form of law.

In the first case there is no prostitution of common-sense and common honesty in seeking for a cause of condemnation which is already determined on. In the

second there is a hypocritical pretence of seeking justice by the formality of a trial, where in reality the case is prejudged.

In this abominable transaction there is no doubt the great mover was Napoleon, whose mandate Murat had not the moral courage to disobey, preferring the dishonor and infamy of such treachery to the momentary displeasure of the emperor. There were a great number of people at Naples who were desirous of providing themselves with many articles of the various cargoes, but were deterred by conscientious scruples from purchasing at the government sales, being convinced that the "receiver is as bad as the thief."

Being thus involuntarily relieved of business, and finding no immediate opportunity of returning to the United States, he improved the opportunity for visiting and inspecting the numerous interesting localities and objects in the vicinity of Naples, and then went to Rome, where he passed several weeks. All these scenes are now so familiar to thousands of our country men and women that it is difficult to realize the fact that, even within the memory of many who are still living, the man who had actually visited and examined them was regarded with wonder and interest. In all my boyish days I remember that the portfolios of plates of Naples, Vesuvius, Pompeii, and Rome which he brought home with him were a source of untiring interest to visitors at our pleasant Lancaster home, and many pleasant associations of my early days were touched when they finally perished in the great fire of Chicago. Of his experiences while visiting these places he gives a

detailed description in a closely written manuscript of more than fifty pages of letter-sheet, prepared for my mother's gratification, in so pleasant and graphic a style that it might well take its place among the best accounts that have been given of the now familiar scenes. It is rare that even a single expression betrays the fact that his mind was oppressed with the sense of his disappointment, while it evinces throughout a keen appreciation of the poetic associations which hallowed every object.

It would be idle, however, at this day, to quote his descriptions, and I shall give only an occasional extract which may serve to illustrate his own character.

The following is from his earliest account of Naples:

"The shore from the foot of Vesuvius, where is situated the town of Portici, quite to the city of Naples, presents a continued line of villas, palaces, and houses, and Naples rising in amphitheatre, till in one direction it terminates in the magnificent castle of St. Elmo, and in another that of the palace of Cabo di Monti, is impressive of riches, grandeur, and strength.

"A further acquaintance, however, with Naples will considerably lessen such impressions; but such acquaintance cannot be made by those who come by sea, till they have done penance in the performance of a tedious quarantine. Ours, in consequence of having cotton goods on board, exceeded forty days. After a passage across the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, to be confined so long on board our vessel after arrival would be tedious even with bright prospects in view, but when instead of these we had no other than total loss of property, and possibly imprisonment, they were gloomy indeed. Could I have foreseen the issue I should certainly have attempted to make my escape, and have no doubt I could have effected it with less risk than we ran in the *Lelia Byrd* in passing the fort at San Diego; but while I had the opportunity (which was for ten days after my arrival), our affairs had not assumed so decisive and seri-

ous an aspect, and I was afterwards deterred from making the attempt by the reflection that in case of failure (should American property be restored), I should forfeit both property and insurance. A few days after being released from quarantine I took rooms opposite the beautiful public walk called Villa Real. This walk is considerably longer and broader than the Mall in Boston. The trees are yet small; but there are many flowering shrubs, and the whole place is kept extremely clean and in good order.

"As you know I am no inconsiderable pedestrian, you will naturally suppose I have spent much time here; indeed, many is the hour that I have traced and retraced my solitary steps on this walk, and thought of home and its enjoyments, of my distance from it, and the possibility that a war might lengthen the time of my separation from those nearest my heart for an indefinite period."

I give but a single extract from one of many descriptions of excursions in the neighborhood of Naples:

"We had a fatiguing march to gain the summit of the promontory (of Misenum), but were repaid by a most delightful view. The day was pleasant (22d April), and the atmosphere very clear, so that we could see the town of Gaeta and the little island of Ponza, the Apennines covered with snow. These were the most distant objects. Nearer, we had a view of Vesuvius, the Castle of St. Elmo, Pozzuoli, Solfatara, Monte Nuovo, the Lake of Fusaro, the islands of Ischia, Procida, and Capri, and the Bay of Naples. The prospect from this hill has been spoken of in extravagant terms by all those travellers who have taken the pains to ascend it. It is certainly beautiful; but that from the dome of the State House in Boston in the month of June, in my opinion, surpasses it.

"There is not so much of the grand and terrific to admire, it is true; but instead of a country which has the appearance of a stormy ocean, and where the valleys only are cultivated, ours, in every direction, presents a picture of the most luxuriant fertility; instead of the silence and gloom which reigns in the bay and ports, ours is activity and cheerfulness; in fine, instead of old age and decrepitude, ours is youth, vigor, and gayety. That such an opinion would be considered that of a stupid and prejudiced blockhead by those whose

minds are impressed by the beauty of the Elysian Fields and its neighborhood from the accounts given by Virgil in the Æneid I am perfectly aware, but as they will probably remain uninformed of my having held such heretical opinions I shall give myself no uneasiness about it. The cape and promontory of Misenum takes its name from one Misenus, a companion of Æneas, who died and was buried here, as the poet thus relates:

"'The good Æneas ordered on the shore
A stately tomb, whose top a trumpet bore,
A soldier's falchion, and a seaman's oar.
Thus was his friend interred, and doubtless fame
Still to the lofty cape consigns his name.'

"It was along this coast—Misenum, Baia, etc.—that the Roman grandees had their villas. Here, from the salubrity of the climate, the hot baths, and probably also from that attraction so conspicuous at Ballstown, *to see* and *be seen*, crowds of strangers as well as the neighboring inhabitants used to resort. It is the residence which Clodius reproached Cicero for occupying, as being little calculated for a philosopher, and where Propertius forbid his daughter Cynthia's going, as being dangerous for the innocence of young persons. Ruins and ashes are all that remain of former magnificence and splendor."

From Naples he went with two companions to Rome, making the journey in a carriage drawn by mules, and spending three days on the road.

His descriptions of the wonders of that city are marked by the same graphic and simple character which distinguish his writings. He concludes as follows:

"Though a residence of a few weeks in such a city as Rome is enough to give some travellers (even though unacquainted with the language) a perfect knowledge of the character, disposition, manners, amusements, etc., of the inhabitants, I confess to you I am not one of the number, for even if my penetration were as great, my naturally reserved habits would be a preventive, and you will, therefore, be satisfied with my mentioning a few peculiarities in their customs which came immediately within my observation.

"We took no other introductory letter than one to a rich banker (the Duke of Torlonia), at whose house we were, of course, invited to dine. At table everything was conducted much as in other parts of the civilized world; but judge of our surprise at the meanness of the master who could suffer his servant to come to our lodgings a few days after to inform us that he had the honor of waiting on us at dinner the other day! in other words, that the master drew upon a dinner he gave to strangers for the purpose of paying his servant's wages. What a disgusting custom! But it is even practised at the governor's, where we were invited to a ball, and a day or two after the servants called for their fee!

"The beaux and belles of Rome have their Corso as well as those of Naples, where they ride every evening, and, returning, stop for half an hour at the Plaza del Popolo, to see and be seen. Such is the all-commanding power of custom or fashion, here as elsewhere, that, notwithstanding the numerous beautiful gardens in the vicinity of Rome where they might either ride or walk free from annoyance, they prefer driving to and fro on the crowded Corso, where they sometimes risk suffocation from the clouds of dust. A peculiarity in the funerals, both at Naples and Rome, I have observed in no other part of the world; I mean that of dressing the corpse in the best apparel and carrying it through the streets on a bier exposed to the view of every one. It is a disgusting custom.

"Foreigners have always found the beggars of Italy very troublesome, though less so at Rome than at Naples. The late revolution in the fortunes of the cardinals and higher orders of the clergy has thrown upon the world a crowd of their domestics and dependants, and we were frequently asked charity in the most pressing manner by well-dressed people of both sexes, whose exterior and address evinced that they had seen better days.

"No one acquainted with the history of Rome who sees it at the present day can help reflecting on the vicissitude of all earthly things. A city whose population was once counted by millions, now possessing only about one hundred thousand and rapidly declining; whose former inhabitants, commanded by warlike emperors and generals, were irresistible in the field, and gave laws to the world; whose present, governed by a pope, priests, and monks, are finally the slaves of one of their former provinces. The present rulers,

however, are troubled by no such reflections as these. They appear to act as we have reason to suppose that former conquerors have done. They appropriate the spoils to their own use, and though they do not sell the inhabitants of conquered countries, yet they are scarcely less slaves than if they did.

"Could a Curtius or a Horatius Cocles be found among modern Romans? Could that man be found among them who, like Marcus Scævola, when made prisoner would thrust his hand into the fire, and burn it off in presence of the conqueror to convince him that a Roman could not be frightened by threats? I think we may safely say such characters no longer exist in Rome. A Ravaillac might possibly be met with, but no Brutus. The stimulus which once excited to heroic deeds has long since given way to the effeminacy of a monkish government, which has led to beggary and ruin."

On returning to Naples from Rome he found that Captain Fairfield, of the ship *Margaret*, of Salem, had succeeded in making an arrangement with the government by which he was permitted to return to the United States, carrying as passengers the crews of the vessels which had been seized, and he was congratulating himself on the opportunity thus afforded him of returning home. His disappointment was correspondingly great at being obliged to abandon the hope, as Captain Fairfield declined to take as freight a valuable investment of Italian manufactures of which my father had agreed to take charge. In this, as in repeated other instances, the event proved that what he had bewailed as a misfortune was in fact an escape from a fearful combination of horrors. The *Margaret* was upset at sea. A part of those on board escaped in a boat and were saved after great suffering; part perished miserably on the wreck, and a few were rescued from it in a dying condition.

In connection with this subject the following extract from the last letter of my father to my mother before leaving Naples is interesting. He had been expressing the disappointment he felt at not being able to take passage in the *Margaret*, but finds consolation in the fact that the effect of it had been less disastrous than in a case which had just come to his knowledge:

"This is that of Dr. Cancanning, who, appointed by the pope a bishop of the Catholic Church in America, had been trying in vain for a year to procure a passage, till the opportunity offered by the *Margaret*. He had come from Rome with all his movables, engaged his passage, and paid his portion of the expense of stores, when he received a notification from the prefect of police that he would not be permitted to depart in an American vessel. The disappointment was so great and had such an effect upon him that he survived it but three days. He was a healthy, good-looking man of about sixty, of Irish descent. I became acquainted with him at Rome, where he had long resided, and from whence the present condition of things led him often to express his joy at the prospect of removal.

"I suspect the calm, pacific, tranquil life of a priest, even with all the help they may derive from Heaven, is not so well calculated to train the mind to contend with disappointment and the vicissitudes of fortune as the rough and troubled life of the soldier or the sailor, who is inured to them. Poor human nature! To be assailable by fortune at the age of sixty! To die from the very fear of dying! How melancholy, how degrading the reflection! My dear boys must early become accustomed to hardships. They have a prospect of living in turbulent times, when the civil must be subservient to military authority, when the only right that is acknowledged will be that of power, and consequently they must by the improvement of their talents and early acquaintance with danger become masters, or by the neglect of them and a retired life submit to be slaves. I have ordered a copy of the 'Travels of Count Beniowski' and of Plutarch. These ought to be their study till they have them by heart, and if afterwards they should die at sixty of disappointment I'll disown them."

CHAPTER VIII.

1810.

From Italy to Lisbon and thence to England.

HAVING failed to get passage home in the *Margaret*, he next wrote to London for a British license to lade a vessel for England. This arrived in due season, and being provided with the credit to enable him to use it to advantage, he purchased the brig *Nancy Ann* (one of the condemned vessels), and loaded her with a cargo of wine, raw silk, licorice, rags, etc., for London.

No objection was made to his departure, and the passage down the Mediterranean was a very pleasant one. On approaching the Strait of Gibraltar he was chased for more than half a day by an English brig-of-war, and paid no attention to the occasional discharge of a gun till she approached nearly within cannon-shot, when he rounded to, and a boat was immediately sent to take him and his papers on board for examination. On seeing the documents by which he was screened from English aggression, which emanated from the same authority as his own commission, the commander was furious with rage at having been unnecessarily led so far out of his way. But after expending a deal of profanity, and threatening to send him in to Gibraltar, he finally calmed down, and perceiving that he could inflict no punish-

ment that would not be likely to recoil upon himself, he reluctantly consented to suffer him to pursue his course.

This was the only detention he met with, and his escape from search in this case enabled him to carry out successfully a part of his plan which did not appear on the manifest.

I have mentioned that Captain Fairfield's reason for refusing to take my father as passenger on the *Margaret* was, because he desired to take with him as freight a quantity of Italian manufactures of which he had charge, which would have affected the sale of those which Captain Fairfield himself was carrying.

This was an invoice of sewing-silks which my father had purchased for account of Messrs. John Tappan, Stephen Higginson, and himself, and which he now had on board his vessel concealed under the rags, licorice, etc., which comprised his cargo for London. As his English license allowed no manufactured goods, its discovery would have led to the seizure of the vessel, and as the same result would have ensued had the goods been taken to England, his intention was to put into Lisbon and transship the silks from thence to the United States; and this he successfully accomplished. The silk reached America in safety and sold for about $150,000, and my father made about $20,000 by the operation.

On entering the Tagus and coming to anchor near the Belem Castle, he found he had arrived at a critical moment. The French army under Massena was advancing with a confidence inspired by the acknowledged

talents and invariable success of that great soldier, and the combined English and Portuguese forces awaited the attack with no less trust in the skill and intrepidity of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose lines of defence at Torres Vedras were deemed impregnable. The inhabitants of Lisbon were, of course, in the painful condition of anxiety incident to the uncertain state of affairs, and were preparing for the possible necessity of putting their valuables on board the English ships of war, and, that no means of escape might be lost, an embargo was laid on all vessels in port.

Affairs remained in this critical state for about ten days, which was also the period of quarantine to which my father was subjected. At the end of that time it was announced that Massena had decided not to risk an attack and had begun his retreat. The embargo was immediately raised, and the anxious inhabitants of Lisbon once more breathed freely. My father effected the transshipment of the silk, and disposed of the wine which had formed part of his cargo to the commissary of the army, on very advantageous terms. The tone of his letters at once reveals the relief he experienced at the dawning of better prospects, and at the same time the consciousness of the uncertainties of life as evinced by the loss of the *Margaret*, the news of which reached him here. His first letter to my mother begins as follows:

"LISBON, *September* 9, 1810.

"Having escaped the pirates of all nations (for government ships of the present day deserve no better name), and arrived safely at this point of my voyage, you will naturally conceive that my mind is relieved from a great weight of anxiety, as the trifling premium

that will be paid on the property from hence to America, and the great profit it will undoubtedly command, will justify insuring roundly on the profits, so that beggary and starvation which have so long been staring me in the face have, I think, made a retrograde movement. But poor Fairfield, when on his way home with a good cargo, doubtless considered his prospects equally flattering. What a dreadful reverse! and with what circumstances of superlative misery was not the loss of the *Margaret* attended. Of some of my acquaintance who were on her I know nothing, of others dying on the wreck, and others escaping with the bare remains of life, perhaps to linger a burden to themselves and all around them. The melancholy recital is constantly haunting me, and not the less from the reflection that the chance was equal that I had added to the number of the miserable. As I considered the opportunity a very excellent one, I had written you a very long letter, which, together with those for Stephen Higginson, I confided to the care of Mr. Louis Barney of Baltimore, an excellent young man, of whose fate I have as yet seen no account.

"So much time will be absorbed by the necessary delays here and after my arrival in England that it will be impossible for me to arrive in America till after winter sets in, and rather than contend with the discomfort and danger of coming on the coast at that season, I have written to Stephen proposing to wear away the winter by undertaking another expedition to Naples, and doubt not he will readily agree to it, of which I shall be advised on arrival in London. I need not say how anxiously I shall expect letters also from you. To know that you are well, to have your congratulations on my success, to know all that concerns the health and happiness of my dear boys, and all the dear circle at home, is more interesting than a world of fortune.

"Before you receive this I suppose America will have an addition to the men of distinction who have sought her shores, unless some greedy man-of-war should have detained him for purposes of robbery. I mean Lucien Bonaparte, who was to have sailed from Civita Vecchia a few days before I left Naples in the ship *Hercules*, of Salem. His collection of statuary and paintings is doubtless superior to anything of the kind in America. I hope, therefore, he may arrive in safety."

A few days later he writes again as follows:

"LISBON, *September* 13, 1810.

"I wrote you a few days since by the *Albert*, Captain Smith. . . .

"I have proposed to Stephen to make another voyage this winter up the Mediterranean; but how far the new measures the emperor is taking will affect the plan I cannot determine before arriving in London. I learn that he has actually written a love-letter to our minister at Paris, promising restitution for confiscated property, revoking his Berlin and Milan decrees, admitting a free commerce even in colonial produce, and declaring that the prosperity and happiness of the United States is an object he has at heart, or words to that effect. All this is no doubt as sincere as were his professions of being a good Mussulman when in Egypt, and the motives no doubt the same—to gull us; and, in my opinion, there is as little doubt that we shall swallow the bait, and when the point is gained for which he is so condescending, instead of paying for what he has stolen, he will be much more likely to steal more. This effort of his, however, is a fair confession that in his war of commerce he is worsted, and he can no more do without the great source of revenue it affords than other nations can. This may possibly clip off some of the profits on the goods which I have with so much difficulty and risk brought away from Naples; but in such precarious times nothing can be counted on with certainty, and we must take the world as it goes."

The following letter affords a good example of the sagacious care and watchfulness with which he observed the signs of the times, and based his enterprises on his prognostications of their results.

The goods he alludes to are the silks he brought from Naples and had just despatched for America. The cartel *Francis*, of which he subsequently speaks, was the vessel by which he had sent the extended manuscript description of the vicinities of Rome and Naples, from which I have heretofore given extracts:

"LISBON, *October* 5, 1810.

"The uncertainty of being able to procure another cargo from Italy, the very small quantity of Italian manufactures that can possibly find their way to the United States in addition to those I have sent, the little dependence that can be placed on the revocation of Bonaparte's decrees, and the certainty that if they are repealed with conditions inimical to the commerce of Great Britain that orders of council will still remain in force, and consequently our commerce with France will continue as limited as their ability to enforce those orders can make it, are inducements sufficient to lead me to advise William to purchase largely at the sale of the silks which I have sent from here by the *Belle Isle*. I presume they will be sold at auction, and if the sewing-silk should go at six to six and a half dollars per pound, I would recommend his purchasing to the full amount of what would be my proportion. By sending it to the Brazils, Spanish America, or even to Baltimore or Philadelphia, he could not fail of doing well. None has gone or can go this winter to the southward, and I know the markets of Philadelphia and Baltimore have been more bare of this article than that of Boston. At this place I believe I could have procured seven dollars per pound for the whole quantity together, which is a proof that it comes to them excessively high from England.

"I learn by the papers that the cartel-ship *Francis* had arrived at Salem. By her you will have received a *line* from me, from the length of which you will conclude that I had abundance of leisure while at Naples. I hope it will afford you some amusement, and I know it will be gratifying to you to perceive that it served to beguile many a dull hour with me.

"I hear from Henry Higginson in London that he has received £4800 for our share of the *Florenzo's* cargo, and that she was expected there with a freight. I don't know whether this is doing well or not, as I have no recollection of the cost of the cargo, but I am satisfied it is better fortune than most of our countrymen met with who sailed about the same time. To be concerned in two expeditions that succeed must certainly be construed into a change of fortune, and almost leads me to flatter myself with seeing the time when I shall be free from anxiety on account of pecuniary affairs, and can join my dear boys in their play on the lawn, or, as evening

approaches, listen to the sweet strains of 'Henry's Cottage Maid,' or 'Fair Fidelia,' as touched by the skilful hand of their dear mother. Alas! when are these enjoyments to be realized? Certainly not without the possession of competency. As certainly *with*.

"When, therefore, the happiness of three is dependent on my exertions, no privation, no fatigue, no watching, no rational risks should deter me from pursuing that line which appears to lead most directly to the desired object. But how often in our efforts to approach do we recede from it!"

On the 8th of November he writes:

"The embargo is partially raised, and I am one of several who have had permission to depart, for some days, but I now wait for convoy, which will be ready in a day or two. Henry Higginson particularly recommended my coming with a convoy, as the French privateers are very numerous, and insurance can be effected three per cent. less with convoy than without.

"The panic which was caused in Lisbon by the rapid retreat of the British army has long since subsided. They made a stand at the last lines, and the French have not dared to attack them. They have continued looking at each other for three weeks past, with scarcely any alteration in their relative positions. Scarce a day has passed that some miserably maimed soldiers have not been brought in from the army. Their appearance is indeed distressing, and forms a painful contrast with the fresh troops who are daily sent out. The order (perhaps necessary) of the British general for all the farmers to destroy their houses, and all the produce which they were unable to put out of the enemy's reach, has reduced vast numbers to indigence who have been well off, and, arriving at Lisbon when no provision had been made for them, their situation is most distressing."

His voyage to Plymouth, England, from Lisbon was made in company with a dozen sail of vessels under convoy of a frigate.

In a long letter to my mother from that port, dated December 25th, 1810, he indulges in a series of reflec-

tions which, under the circumstances, are not only intrinsically interesting, but afford curious evidence of his peculiar characteristics. He is replying to letters received from here soon after his arrival:

"I am glad to learn you received and were so well pleased with the long details of my rambles in Italy. . . .

"Of my former rambles you are in possession of no inconsiderable detail, but the extent of country over which my destiny has led me since parting from you in January last has certainly been more interesting than, perhaps, all the others combined. Previous to this my mind seems hardly to have been able to grasp or realize the idea of the prodigious number of years which have elapsed even since the construction of some of those edifices which yet bear witness to it, and still less to the more remote periods of history. But in Italy you are as irresistibly led back seventeen hundred years to the destruction of Pompeii, or two thousand years to the days when Rome was in her glory, as you are in America to the voyage of Columbus or the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

"This familiarity, even with objects of no greater antiquity, appears to approximate so nearly to the Mosaic account of the time of the creation that you find it difficult to believe that the world can be so young; but when you are presented with specimens of art, some of which can be traced upwards of three thousand years, and others lost in remote antiquity, which are, nevertheless, the wonder and admiration of the present age, such as the Egyptian obelisks and pyramids, it requires a different education from mine, more implicit faith in the generally received authority, and perhaps you will say a more correct way of thinking, to be perfectly satisfied with it.

"Having observed mankind in their most abject state of barbarism does not afford (even to an experienced observer) sufficient data to form an idea of the time necessary for them to be advanced to that degree of civilization which is indicated by the production of such labors; but setting aside the Egyptian account of the antiquity of their origin (which they carry back twenty thousand years); the period appears too limited between their being in a state of barbarism, even as immediately after the Mosaic account of the creation as possible, and their producing, when they did, such gigantic works.

"The difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts of 1270 years in the period between the Creation and the birth of Christ does not tend to enlighten the doubtful and inquiring mind, and will satisfy only those who will not doubt. A singular circumstance mentioned in Recupera's history of Mount Etna has a particular relation to this subject. He says that in digging a pit of great depth at Jaci (near Etna) seven distinct strata of lava were pierced through, the surfaces of which were parallel, and most of them covered with a thick bed of earth. Now the eruption which formed the lowest of these strata, if we may be allowed to reason from analogy, must have flowed from the mountain at least fourteen thousand years ago, for it is said to require two thousand years to form even a scanty soil on the surface of the lava.

"But of what consequence is it to us whether the world is six, ten, or twenty thousand years old? We have only to act well our parts in it, and, conscious of doing this with an easy and cheerful mind, leave the event to that Almighty Power who

"'Though changed through all, is yet in all the same,
Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame,
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees.
Lives through all life; extends through all extent;
Spreads undivided; operates unspent.
To him no high, no low, no great, no small,
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all.'

"There is, however, something in the appearance of the venerable relics of antiquity with which Italy abounds which not only leads to a conviction of many historical facts, but must also necessarily compel the most volatile to reflect on the vicissitude of all human affairs.

"Is it not amazing, then, that we find the present rulers of the earth, men of liberal education, pursuing the same path as their predecessors? As proud, arrogant, and unjust, on obtaining an advantage over their weaker neighbors as were their predecessors, and as ready to ascribe their success to their superior wisdom and talents. The miserable end of Pompey the Great, of Cæsar, of Antony, and of nine tenths of the mighty heroes of Rome, in whose

exploits the world has been as much interested and absorbed as it now is with those of Bonaparte, Massena, Nelson, Wellington, etc., must appear to the actors themselves as fabulous or distant as death does to a thoughtless boy—at such a prodigious distance that nothing need be apprehended from it.

"That the Emperor of France should not be deterred from any act of injustice by such reflections is not surprising. His profession is that of a warrior. By war alone and the calamities it produces could he ever have reached the summit at which he has arrived, nor is it probable he could maintain his position but by pursuing the same system. But that an old-established government like that of Great Britain should follow such an example, a government that is ever boasting of its justice, humanity, etc., is indeed wonderful. When Themistocles declared to the assembly of Athens that he knew a method of giving them the sovereignty of Greece, but that it must be kept secret, he was desired to make it known to Aristides only, and abide by his decision. He accordingly told him that his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates. Aristides then informed the assembly that nothing could be more advantageous than the proposal of Themistocles, nor could anything be more unjust. Whereupon they at once abandoned the thought of it. But we find, in this civilized age, the pretensions to justice and honor of the enlightened government of England are not so well founded as those of the ancients, nor better than those of the great modern usurper, for besides the minor acts of injustice and villainy to which their cupidity is daily inciting them, they have shown that merely to obtain possession of a few old hulks of ships, and those belonging to a people as much in friendship with them as were the confederates with the people of Athens, the destruction of a flourishing city, the death of thousands, and all the long and dreadful train of miseries resulting from the ravages of fire and sword when used as the destroying engines of a merciless conqueror, have been no impediment. On the whole, I am induced to believe that mankind are much the same at the present day that they were two thousand years ago, equally unjust, ambitious, and arrogant; perhaps more humane, though, recurring to the Spanish in America, the English and Dutch in India, and the French during the revolution, even this may be doubted."

To many readers of the present day these will doubtless seem but commonplace reflections. Those who can recall the state of public feeling and the tone of current literature of fifty years ago—before the era of modern scientific investigation, and before the study of history had been rendered fascinating by such writers as Macaulay, Prescott, and Motley—will recognize the fact that even then these expressions would have been thought bold and startling.

When we reflect that they were uttered twenty years earlier than that, by a man whose only early education had been that of the common schools of New England, and are simply the outflow of his own thoughts in a familiar letter to his wife, written in the midst of the perplexing cares of business, they cannot be regarded as other than remarkable.

CHAPTER IX.

1811–1816.

Transactions in England and on the Continent.—A Project Promising Great Results Defeated by the Failure of the Russian Campaign.

THE enormous difference in prices, even of articles of ordinary necessity, between England and the Continent, resulting from the forced and unnatural conditions which had been imposed upon them, offered favorable opportunities to neutrals, which my father, in company with many other Americans, made very active efforts to improve.

The proposed return to Naples was abandoned, and for the next two years he was in London and the north of Europe, engaged in commerce, the management of which often required the exercise of great skill and boldness, and of course involved corresponding risks.

His letters during this period are continued at frequent intervals, but from the great uncertainty which attended their transmission, were always very guarded in their expression relative to the operations in which he was engaged.

The following extract, from his first long letter after arriving in London, furnishes the keynote of the general tone which pervades them—a tone of anxiety resulting from the painful uncertainty attending the efforts he was making to attain the means of returning to those in

whose affection his hope of happiness was centred, yet of determined resolution to accomplish the object, if perseverance and energy could do it.

"LONDON, *February* 6, 1811.

"I wrote you a very hasty scrawl by an opportunity for Boston on the day of my arrival here, lest a knowledge of our unprecedented delays should have caused you anxiety.

"It is hardly possible to conceive such a series of untoward circumstances as I have met with since leaving Lisbon ; nor have my physical sufferings been inconsiderable, as you will perceive when I tell you that for six weeks of this uncommonly severe winter I have been quarantined on board my vessel and not allowed to have a fire. But that is past, and I will not trouble you with a recital of my discomfort, since I escaped being sick, which might have been expected as a consequence of such privations, and is a convincing proof that my constitution is restored to its pristine strength.

"During my confinement at Plymouth I wrote you several very long letters, and we have just learned that one of the vessels (by which I sent a large packet) has experienced a *warm* proof of the love Bony bears to Americans, as, with her cargo, she was burned at sea by the *Invincible Napoleon*, French privateer.

"Among the many extraordinary things which we daily see taking place in these extraordinary times Mr. Madison's proclamation of November 2 is certainly not the least singular.

"An English editor terms it 'a pretty specimen of republican sagacity,' and indeed I think it is ; for what proof has he of Bony's sincerity or good faith, that could justify such a measure? The event, no doubt, will show an error that will involve many in ruin.

"As it regards myself, if the silks I sent from Italy have not been sold, I have no doubt they will be more valuable than ever, as there is no prospect of a commercial intercourse with France. The American property which arrived there after November 1 has all been sequestered, and is held up *in terrorem* with a view to bring them into his measures. Of the property so villainously seized previous to that time not a farthing will ever be restored.

"The prodigious loss on the exchange between Naples and this place, the risks attending shipments from there, together with the un-

certainty of finding a vessel there, have induced me to give up the plan of another voyage there, and I am now undetermined what course to pursue. I would not lose a moment in returning to my dear wife and boys did I not consider it a duty due them to leave no enterprise untried that promises in any degree the accomplishment of their and my wishes. I shall therefore wait a few weeks to see what can be done, and if nothing offers shall embark for home, and bless my stars that you decided not to attempt to meet me at Naples as I proposed.

"Forbes* left here yesterday for France, but with no very brilliant prospects. Curson has met with great difficulties and interruptions, and the success of his voyage is doubtful.

"In times like these there is no readier road to ruin than being concerned in shipping, and I am sorry that William is extending his interests therein.

"You will perceive I am growing cautious, and I have no doubt you will perceive why: because a contrary conduct has been in a degree the cause of an absence from those most dear to me, for which no fortune can compensate."

It is affecting to read the details he gives in the long series of letters following the above of the different plans and efforts at their execution which occupied him, and through the whole of which his chief source of relief and comfort seems to have been in thus communing with the one on whose sympathy he relied.

An attempt to carry a cargo of wine to Copenhagen was attended with circumstances curiously illustrative of the lesson which had so often been repeated in his experience, of a seeming misfortune proving to be a providential preservation. The vessel containing it had arrived in England from Naples, consigned to his cousin, Henry Higginson, who was then established in London.

* John M. Forbes, afterwards minister to Denmark.

The plan had previously been arranged that my father should immediately embark in her as passenger and take the wine to Copenhagen, where a very large profit would have been realized. The vessel was wrecked by going ashore on Jutland in the night, but fortunately at high tide, so that all the cargo was saved. This necessarily consumed two thirds of the profits, but they nevertheless realized about £1000 profit, whereas if he had kept on his course he would have fallen directly into the hands of a French privateer then lying off Elsinore.

This business being finished, he writes from Copenhagen, on the 18th of September, 1811, acknowledging letters from home containing news of losses which his brother had met with, which he was apprehensive would involve the necessity of parting with the beautiful home in Lancaster to which he was so fondly attached. This was evidently a heavy addition to the weight of care with which he was already burdened, and his expressions give painful evidence of the suffering it caused him that my mother should be thus oppressed.

Yet he rallies his own spirits, and tries to encourage her with hopes of a brighter future.

"Do not indulge," he says, "in gloomy anticipations. All will yet be well, and in the course of twelve or eighteen months I will astonish you with a fortune that shall suffice for the gratification of the wishes of all who are dear to me. Late as it now is, I am now bound to Russia, having chartered part of a ship, and engaged in a voyage which is to terminate here. I have obtained a credit of £3000 sterling, and have a fair prospect of clearing from sixty to seventy-five per cent. It is possible, of course, that I may be defeated by being caught in the ice, by shipwreck, or by French privateers. Against the Danes I am guarded by a license. If I succeed I hope to be in London in November, from whence I contemplate a voyage to

Naples for wine, for Lisbon, New Orleans, or this country, and have written to Paris for a license. Thus you perceive I am undertaking new adventures and projecting others still more extensive, before even this last miserable one is brought to a close. This perhaps will allay your fears relative to my health, for if my constitution had not regained its full vigor I could not have withstood the excessive fatigue and anxiety I have lately experienced, and while my health continues firm rest assured my spirits will never be subdued. You remind me of my promise that nothing within my power to control should induce me to prolong my absence beyond the present autumn. Harry will tell you that I wrote him from Plymouth that I would undertake no voyage which would prevent my returning to my family by the month of August; but I presumed at that time that I possessed at least $10,000, and therefore that there was no necessity of making a reserve for such a disappointment as I have since met with. But I know that no apology is necessary, and that you no more doubt my impatience to return than I do yours to have me. Keep up your spirits and bear in mind that the greatest stimulant I possess to enable me to bear up against such accumulated misfortune as has fallen to my share is the reflection that my efforts are appreciated by so competent a judge as my beloved wife."

In one of his letters at this period he makes the first allusion to a subject the importance of which, in his estimation, is sufficiently indicated by the fact of his urging it so strongly at a time of such doubt and anxiety relative to his affairs.

My mother, it seems, was considering the propriety of disposing of the Lancaster estate and taking up her residence in more economical quarters, to which he assents with the assurance of his entire confidence in her judgment; but offering only the following suggestion:

"I will only observe that in the choice of your future residence a good school for the boys is an object of primary importance, and, in my opinion, should influence your opinion even more than a good physician. The man who is capable and willing to perform the im-

portant duties of a schoolmaster, can be expected to do it only with the encouragement of a handsome salary, and with a limited number of scholars, and if his associates were those of the first respectability in the town where he resides it would not escape the notice of his pupils, and would be properly appreciated by them. You can have but one objection to such a school, that of the expense, which must not influence you, as I had rather remain an exile forever than that the boys should not only have a good, but a finished education. Impressed as I am with the great, the incalculable importance of a good education, I beg of you, in making your selection, not to be influenced by the expense, for the man capable of taking the important trust of a teacher can only be expected to discharge his duty properly if handsomely paid, and the number of scholars limited."

At the time the above was written his oldest son was only in his seventh year, and, of course, had hardly emerged from the nursery. The suggestion of the value to the pupils of a good social position for the master is full of meaning, and is eminently worthy of consideration at this day, when it is so frequently the case that refined social habits are not taken into account in selecting a teacher, and parents feel under no obligation even to make the acquaintance of those to whom they intrust the education of their children.

The principal of a large public school once said to me, with an evident feeling of bitterness, "If I had the care of five hundred sheep or calves, the owners would show more interest in my management of them than the parents of these five hundred children."

The departure for Russia was delayed for ten days by an easterly storm, and subsequently by head winds, so that he did not deem it prudent to go to St. Petersburg as he first intended, but stopped at Riga, and returned in one month to Copenhagen, having added something

to his means, though not so largely as he would have done had he been able to carry out his original plan.

He remained in Copenhagen engaged in shipments of wheat to England, from which, as he says in one of his letters, he realized an amount of profit which would have justified his returning to America, but meantime both his brothers had met with serious losses, and as they always regarded their interests as mutual, he continued to avail himself of the opportunities which offered for acquiring means to aid and relieve them.

As usual, besides sending a long letter by every opportunity, he writes a very long and detailed account of his experiences with descriptions, discussions, and reflections, as if trying, in his absence from home, to supply by such means the domestic pleasures he so coveted. A single extract will suffice to show how his time and mind were occupied.

"My disrelish for the ordinary resources of most of my countrymen—drinking and cards—and the habit to which I have long adhered of acting with entire independence in the disposal of my time, by not sacrificing it to others, has made it so exclusively my own that a knowledge of the routine of one day will give you a general idea of each. I rise at eight, breakfast immediately, and read or write till one; then walk four or five miles till half-past two, when I meet a party of four at the hotel to dine; after dinner, sit and chat for an hour or two, take a short walk, return to my lodgings and take tea at seven, read till eleven, and then go to bed. My only deviation from these regular habits has been when I have occasionally met a congenial soul who could overcome his natural indolence sufficiently to accompany me on one of my long rambles, or would leave the gay circle to pass a social evening with me in my room. And here, as elsewhere, I now and then attend the public places of amusement, which are tolerably good, and far better than could be expected for the very moderate expense. Indeed, I have visited no

country where the admission to places of public amusement was so cheap. At an excellent weekly concert to which I am a subscriber, I pay about three shillings sterling per month. In England, for a concert no better, the admission for a single evening is half a guinea. Admission to the theatre is proportionally moderate, but as I know nothing of the language, I visit it only when there is a ballet, or an opera with good music.

"I have also been to a masquerade and a public ball; but partly owing to myself, and partly to the indifference of those with whom I have commercial intercourse, I have made no acquaintance with private society, and since my residence here have had no other dinner than such as I paid for. Shaler would scarcely be able to credit that, in the four months I have resided here, I have not seen the inside of a gentleman's house. In the few months which he and I spent here, in 1801, we experienced uncommon civility; in fact, we had never met with such hospitality. The gentlemen with whom we transacted our business frequently called on us, gave parties for us, and took pains to introduce us to the most respectable clubs and reading-rooms, but the times have dreadfully changed, and, alas! my circumstances have dreadfully changed also. When I made my first visit here in company with my friend Shaler, it was with no inconsiderable éclat.

"Two young men who were passengers and freighters of a noble ship of one thousand tons from the East Indies, with a capital of seven thousand bags of coffee, accompanied by three black servants, and taking the best lodgings in the city, attracted the notice of the natives, and led us foolishly to fancy that the attentions we received were due to our personal merit, unmixed with considerations of the property we represented. Knowing, as you do, the extent of my misfortunes, you will not imagine that I have waited till this time to be cured of such vanity, or that the difference of my reception now and at that time has had the least effect upon my spirits. On the contrary, having no disposition to mix much with the world, it has afforded me matter of amusement and speculation. A commercial house may expect to derive advantage from the civilities and attention which they pay the rich man, and the latter will almost invariably attribute such attentions to his superior merit; but what can induce the generality of mankind to bow so meanly at the shrine

of riches, even if the possessor is a villain or a fool, I cannot conceive; yet that it is so all the world over I am perfectly satisfied. If the rich were usually generous in proportion to their riches it would be accounted for, but the contrary is almost invariably the case. Riches then must possess an inherent, inexpressible something which dazzles and attracts the mob without benefiting them, and the poet says:

"'Gold too oft, with magic art,
Subdues each nobler impulse of the heart.
This crowns the prosperous villain with applause
To whom in vain sad Merit pleads her cause.
This strews with roses life's perplexing road,
And leads the way to Pleasure's blest abode.
With slaughtered victims fills the weeping plain,
And smooths the furrows of the treacherous main.'

"With such sentiments—with a perfect conviction of the insufficiency of riches to procure happiness, and with wants far more limited than those of the generality of mankind—the sacrifices I have made may appear, to an indifferent observer, extraordinary and inconsistent, but those who know me will not attribute them to a criminal thirst of gain, or a weak ambition to be considered rich.

"The greater sacrifices I am now making, in thus becoming a voluntary exile from all that makes life desirable, being the effect of dire necessity, needs nothing said in extenuation. Exile and want of wealth are relative evils; thirst, hunger, and nakedness, positive; and while we evince a proper resignation to the former, we will bless our stars if in times so pregnant with calamities we are permitted to escape the latter."

Copenhagen continued to be his headquarters during the succeeding year of 1812, and in the summer of that year news was received of the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain.

A final effort to retrieve his fortunes was defeated after all apparent obstacles had been overcome, by an event which marked an era in the history of Europe, in

which the ruin of individual fortunes was of as little moment as the destruction of a straw in the vortex of Niagara.

By the aid of influential men in office, and after great difficulty and delay, he succeeded in obtaining from Paris a license for the introduction of a cargo from Copenhagen into Hamburg *via* Kiel. The next step was comparatively easy — to obtain from the Danish government a license to introduce a cargo from England into Copenhagen. Severe restrictions were in both cases exacted as to the character of the articles composing the cargo, but these were complied with, the adventure arrived safely at Copenhagen in June, and could have been sold at once for a very large profit, but the prospect at Hamburgh was so much greater as to justify a disregard of the old maxim of "the bird in the hand."

While engaged in the transshipment of the cargo into Danish coasters, to be taken to Kiel, some malicious or envious person made complaint to the government that a gentleman who was associated with him in the business was an English subject, and that the property he represented was English. This led to a seizure and a legal investigation, the result of which was the restoration of the property, with acknowledgment that it had been unjustifiably detained. The law's delay, however, had protracted the detention to such a late date, and the winter set in with such severity at a much earlier date than usual, that before the coasters could be despatched they were fast in the ice and so remained for the winter.

The being forced to wait in idleness till spring was, of

course, a disappointment, but there existed no cause to apprehend any depreciation of the value of the property, for up to that time the possibility of failure of any of the great projects of Napoleon was not taken into account as a factor in a commercial enterprise. But even his power was unavailing against the elements. The destruction of his army in the Russian campaign of that terrible winter was the death-blow of the Continental system. The spring of 1813 opened with the emancipation of Europe from the tyranny which had so long oppressed it; the ordinary channels of commerce were opened; the markets were flooded; prices became nominal, and it was only after long delay and at considerable sacrifice that the business was closed, and my father prepared to return to the United States, as there no longer existed an object for remaining abroad.

Official announcement had been made that Americans landing in England from the Continent would be detained as prisoners of war. He therefore proceeded *via* Brussels and Paris to Bordeaux, and embarked for New York, where he landed on the 1st of January, 1814, and as he says in his narrative—

"It will have been seen that in the four years which had elapsed since my departure from Boston in the schooner *Maria* for Naples no efforts had been spared, no deficiency of perseverance evinced, and no opportunity allowed to pass unembraced which presented the prospect of bettering my fortune.

"I was once again landed on my native shore in good health and with an empty purse, but buoyed above the immediate pressure of disappointment by the pleasing anticipation of at least a short repose in the bosom of my family."

No opportunity was offered for renewing his ocean

labor till after the treaty of Ghent and the declaration of peace, except that of privateering, in which it is very evident from his letters that he was desirous to engage, and doubtless refrained in deference to my mother's wishes.

In July, 1815, he sailed from Salem in the employ of some of his friends there in the ship *Exeter*, for Teneriffe and Batavia. This voyage occupied nearly a year, and was not devoid of interesting incident, of which he gives an account in his narrative, but of which I shall here notice only certain references in his letters to matters having no connection with the direct object of the voyage.

Arriving at Teneriffe on the 26th of August, he was subjected to a quarantine of eight days in an open roadstead, where he anchored in fifty-five fathoms, and the rolling of the ship was worse than when at sea under sail.

By the English papers sent off to him by his consignee he here received the first intelligence of the battle of Waterloo, of which he says, in a letter to my mother of August 28th:

"The English papers sent me by Mr. Little afforded such an overwhelming flood of astonishing and extraordinary news as almost bewildered me, and required the recalling to my mind the great events that had astonished the world for two years past to persuade myself that I was not dreaming. The great emperor and king—he who has shaken Europe to its foundations, and made almost every sovereign in it bend the knee to him, is reduced, in the short space of three years, from this tremendous, and to short-sighted mortals secure elevation, to the dreadfully humiliating degradation of flying for life and surrendering himself to the captain of a British ship of war! What wonderful vicissitudes has not this man witnessed! Is it not astonishing that he should not have preferred death?

"That mankind continue to sympathize in his fall is, I think, evinced by the generosity which they display in making a proper provision for him in so very salubrious a climate as that of St. Helena. Here I should doubt if even with the assistance of his friend, the D—l, he would ever have it in his power to disturb the world again. It is not improbable that on my return I may call and see him."

His next letter, written at sea, January 16, 1816, contains the first allusion to a gentleman whose acquaintance he had made during the preceding year while at home in Lancaster, and whose warm friendship he retained till the end of his life.

I have heretofore given an extract from one of his letters expressing his wish that his sons should have the best possible advantages of education. This had been a prominent object in his mind during the time he was at home, and in order to secure it he had proposed the establishment in Lancaster of a school of a superior order to those which were then common in the country, and offered to defray whatever additional expense might be necessary to secure the services of a classical teacher. In return for this the town authorized him to select the teacher, and he at once applied to President Kirkland, of Harvard College, who was his personal friend, and through his aid secured the services of Jared Sparks, then a young man just starting in a career which is now recorded in the pages of literary history. I shall have more to say on this subject when speaking of my father's life in Lancaster. I have mentioned it here only in explanation of the following paragraph, which contains further evidence of the importance he attached to the subject of education, and his determination that no

effort on his part should be wanting to provide for his sons the best means that the country afforded:

"I am not without apprehension that Mr. Sparks may not be willing to remain longer than the first year, especially for a salary which he seemed to feel some reluctance in accepting. Whatever part of this salary I may have to pay (and this depends on the number of scholars) I had much rather pay it, and even add a hundred dollars to the annual amount of it, than that he should leave. The pernicious effects to the pupils of a frequent change of masters I am so well aware of that I should be willing to make considerable sacrifices to avoid it. The advantages to the boys of being educated at home, compared with that of sending them away at so tender an age, is so obvious and striking that I would make great efforts and sacrifices of my own convenience to secure it. I hope, therefore, that means will be found to induce Mr. Sparks to remain at least three years. I feel so much the importance of laying a good foundation for education, and that the means of enabling my boys to do it is as dependent on me as the superstructure will afterwards be on themselves, that I am not less anxious to accomplish the one than to impress on their minds a conviction of the truth of the other."

The voyage to Batavia and back was completed in August, 1816, and he then remained at home for nearly a year, at the end of which time, being then in his forty-fourth year, he entered upon what may, in some respects, be considered as his most remarkable voyage; not indeed on account of the dangers of the seas, but of the unjust and outrageous treatment to which he was subjected at the hands of his fellow-men, and the courage, skill, and adroit management with which he finally extricated himself and achieved a triumphant success.

CHAPTER X.

1817.

Sails in the Ship *Beaver* from New York for the West Coast of South America.—Seized at Talcahuana.—Plots to Take the Spanish Frigate *Venganza*.—Seized with Fever.—Is Sent to Lima in the Brig *Canton*.

No opportunity offered for the prosecution of any such enterprising voyages as seemed especially attractive to my father till 1817, when the news was received of a revolution in Chili and that the people had emancipated themselves from the government of Spain.

This event, by freeing the commerce of that country from the paralyzing restrictions to which it had hitherto been subjected, seemed to offer flattering prospects to those merchants who should be first to avail themselves of the opportunity.

My father's knowledge of the wants and resources of the country gave him advantages which few of his countrymen then possessed for undertaking a voyage thither. This knowledge he at once proceeded to turn to account by submitting a plan of a voyage to John Jacob Astor, whose sagacious mind was not slow to perceive the very great advantages it offered, though he fully appreciated the attendant risks.

His favorite ship, the *Beaver* (the same mentioned in Irving's "Astoria"), had just been repaired at an ex-

pense nearly equal to that of building her anew, and was then in fine condition for such a voyage as was proposed. The cargo, consisting principally of European manufactures to the amount of $140,000, and the ship and stores, valued at $50,000 more, formed an aggregate such as no other individual in the United States would (or, perhaps, at that time *could*) have risked on such a voyage.

Mr. Astor's wisdom and liberality in leaving the whole management to my father's discretion was the best evidence of the confidence reposed in him, and the only exception in which my father's wishes were overruled was a chief cause of the subsequent misfortunes which befell them. This was the shipment of a large quantity of arms and ammunition, which my father considered would excite suspicion, and, perhaps, be made the pretext for confiscation.

A single paragraph of my father's narrative betrays, in a few simple words, the depth of feeling he experienced and the crowd of reflections which pressed upon him at starting upon this new adventure, so full of causes, both of hope and apprehension, for the future; calling up such reminiscences of the past, such tender thought of all he was leaving, and such anxious fears of the possibilities involved in the years of separation which must necessarily ensue. My mother had accompanied him to New York and remained with him till his departure, having me, then in my third year, in her company. He took leave of her, and sailed on July 1, 1817, on a fine day, with a fresh westerly breeze.

"Before the day closed a trial with other vessels bound to the east-

ward satisfied me that the ship sailed well and steered easily. The watch being set, as usual, at eight o'clock, and the course given to be steered during the night, I paced the deck till midnight, pleased with the quiet which had so suddenly succeeded the bustle of getting away, and gave to the mind ample scope to dwell on scenes past, present, and to come.

"There are few who have not experienced the pain of bidding farewell to beloved relatives, even though the time of separation is limited to a few weeks, and thence may be able to form some idea of their feeling of desolateness and homesickness whose destiny compels them to part for years, perhaps forever. Nor could the flattering confidence manifested by my employers—in the superb ship under my command, the valuable cargo consigned to me, the entire and unrestricted control of both, and the reasonable prospect of a happy result—tend to diminish the sadness which a recurrence to home always produced. Time, however, and the imperious duties of my station, gradually lessened the poignancy of these feelings, and hope —ever-buoyant hope—cheered the drooping spirits, by pointing to a period, however distant, of a happy consummation of my wishes."

The voyage was unmarked by any event of special interest. In the hope of getting some intelligence of the state of affairs in Chili which might be of service to him, he endeavored to touch on the coast of Brazil, and arrived off Maldonado on the 8th of September; but the weather was very thick and stormy, and seeing no prospect of clearing up, after laying to for several hours, he abandoned the attempt and proceeded on his course.

He next attempted to reach the Falkland Islands, in order to replenish his wood and water, so as to avoid the actual necessity of putting into a Chilian port if he found it advisable to avoid doing so. Before arriving in their latitude, however, a succession of violent gales carried them so far to the eastward that the time required to reach them would have been unprofitably spent, and he

accordingly held his course for Cape Horn, which he passed at 9 A.M. on the 27th of September, with a smooth sea and a favorable breeze, to which all the light sails were set.

On the 15th of October, 1817, he arrived at the Island of Mocha, and, in the hope of getting information of the political situation in Chili, lay off and on for several hours and sent a boat ashore, which returned after having found no trace of inhabitants and no animals except wild horses.

As a supply of wood and water was now a matter of necessity, he determined to stop at Talcahuana, presuming that as the right to enter any port for such supplies was guaranteed by treaty, he would have no cause to apprehend ill-treatment, whichever party might be in possession. Under these impressions he arrived next morning off the port, and while laying becalmed was boarded by an officer, who told him that the patriots had possession of the place, that he was a patriot officer, that the royal flag was kept flying on the two ships of war as a decoy, that the American brig *Canton* was in port and was to sail for Salem in two or three days, etc., all of which was false except that the American brig was the *Canton*.

The calm continuing, he was forced to let go an anchor, and soon after his vessel was boarded by another and apparently a superior officer, who wore the royal uniform, and demanded the ship's papers. He confirmed the statements of the previous visitor, but suspicion was awakened as to their truth, and, if false, the motive must forebode mischief. It was necessary to decide at once

what course to adopt. The dead calm which prevailed rendered flight impossible, and, if a breeze came, the attempt to escape would be a sufficient cause for pursuit and capture by the frigate lying in plain sight, and which might rationally be supposed to be the faster sailer. While the calm continued, the only mode by which he could be attacked would be by boats, which he might beat off; but the attempt to do so, like the effort to escape, would, in case of failure, serve as a justifiable plea for confiscation. It was, moreover, obvious that if these ships of war were part of the royal navy, the royalists must still possess the ascendency at sea, and consequently that the port of Valparaiso would be blockaded, so that the attempt to enter there after having forced his way from here, with a royal officer on board to tell the story, would result in certain disaster. On the other hand, however vexatious and annoying the conduct of the government might be, from the feeling of resentment excited by the suspicion that he intended to traffic with their enemies, it ought not to provoke him to acts which would endanger the property, especially as there was the most undeniable evidence of such necessity as had been expressly provided for by treaty. The least of two evils, therefore, seemed to be to place himself in their power with the confidence of right inspired by honest intentions.

Accordingly, when a breeze came next morning, he entered the port and came to anchor between the two ships of war. A guard was immediately placed on board, and no one was allowed to leave the ship.

The following letter gives an account of what followed:

"ON BOARD THE 'BEAVER': TALCAHUANA, *November* 22, 1817.

"Adversity continues to assail me with the most unrelenting severity. You may remember the aversion I had that any part of my cargo should be composed of arms and ammunition. You will not doubt that, having them, I took all the precautions in my power that the case required, but these were of no avail, and I have been led on by my untoward destiny till I have fallen into the hands of a set of unprincipled beings who, with some of the forms of law and a mockery of justice, are proceeding to the condemnation of my valuable ship and cargo, and to the consequent consummation of my ruin. . . .

"As our wood and water were completely exhausted, I determined to enter the first port I could in Chili, presuming that, let it be in possession of either party, they could not fail to allow us to supply our wants and depart peaceably. But in these reasonable expectations I have been sadly disappointed. There was not a port on the whole coast of Chili or Peru where my arrival would have excited such suspicion as here, nor one where the temptation offered by so rich a ship was so unlikely to be withstood. This port was on the eastern side, in possession of the republicans; on the western (which is a peninsula), by the royalists, who, having a frigate and a sloop-of-war here, possessed the uncontrolled dominion of the waters. The royalists, besieged or confined to a little point of land where they had consumed all their provisions, were dependent on the precarious supply which their command of the waters enabled them to procure clandestinely from the republican shore.

"After being so long at sea to arrive at a port where no refreshments could be procured was of itself sufficiently unfortunate, but this is one of the least of the evils I have suffered.

"The general-in-chief, believing that my design was to supply his enemies, and particularly that my arms and ammunition were intended for this purpose, has treated me with a degree of rigor correspondent to this belief. Upon arrival in port my ship was immediately filled with an armed banditti, so ragged, so full of vermin, so thievish and so uncontrollable that a residence in a den of abandoned robbers could not have been more uncomfortable. These, after remaining forty-eight hours and stealing everything that came in their way, were relieved by a captain and his company from the garrison,

who have behaved with more propriety, and who now continue on duty on board.

"To add to the safety of these troops, not less than the security of the ship, the sails were unbent and taken away, and twenty of my men were distributed into other ships, myself and officers confined to the ship, and not allowed to speak with any of our countrymen belonging to the *Canton*. This vessel, belonging to Mr. Peabody, of Salem, had been here two months, and but for the specie she had on board the place would undoubtedly have been surrendered to the republicans, as the troops were on the eve of revolt for their pay, and the appropriation of this money was all that prevented it. I will not attempt to describe to you the anguish of my mind for the first few days after the discovery of the efforts that my captors were making to form some plea to justify a robbery already decided on. This was so evident that, combined with the privations and multiplied aggravations to which I was compelled to submit, existtence became so insupportable that I had determined to blow up the ship, and waited only for an opportunity, when, like Sampson, my exit should be accompanied by that of my enemies.

"While waiting for this a ray of hope presented itself, which, brightening by reflection, presented to my mind a plausible plan of causing to recoil on my enemies that ruin which they were preparing for me; but to execute this with success a combination of favorable circumstances was required, for which I am now anxiously waiting. Its failure is certain death; but as this is the only chance of saving the property, I am determined on putting it in execution. Having come to this decision I write this to leave with Mr. Coffin for you, but from the very great uncertainty of its ever reaching you it is unadvisable to say all I wish.

"If I fail in attaining my object, the world will pronounce the attempt rash and foolhardy. If I succeed, my conduct will be as decidedly condemned by one portion of my fellow-men as it will be approved by the other; but the opinion of the world is to me a matter of indifference. You will find excuses for me—though you can have no conception of the passion which stimulates me to deeds of desperation—not less in the unbounded love I bear you and the dear children (a protracted separation from whom I cannot reconcile to my mind), than in the repeated and accumulated misfortunes by which I have been assailed.

"If it is destined that I should never again have the delight of meeting you, which God avert, my greatest solicitude is on account of the want of means to give them such an education as I have always designed."

He then calmly gives her a full statement of the resources which will be left to her, with advice as to the best means of turning them to account, and concludes as follows:

"My resolution is fixed, and my fate will be decided in a few days. That the Great Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe may avert the danger that hangs over me, and restore me once again to my beloved wife, children, and friends, is the ardent prayer of your most affectionate, devoted, and, perhaps from this act, undeserving husband."

In a letter to Mr. Astor, of the same date as the above (of which I have a copy in his letter-book), he alludes in a very guarded manner to the above project, and gives directions in regard to provision for his family in case of accident to himself. I quote from his published narrative the account he gives of the project:

"The prospect of dragging on for an indefinite period the wretched existence I had endured since arriving at this port was insupportable. Mortified at the humiliating position in which I was placed; goaded by the long train of evils which would inevitably result to me from the loss of this property, and driven to desperation by my inability to perceive any prospect of a termination to such misery, I viewed destruction in an effort to free myself as an evil of less magnitude, and therefore determined, if I could induce my men to join me, to put in execution a plan which I had long meditated, and which, like all revolutionary movements, would be deemed praiseworthy or lawless as the result should prove successful or otherwise.

"While laying between the Spanish vessels of war, where our ship was first anchored, I had a good opportunity of noticing the absence of proper and ordinary discipline. During more than a month I

paced the *Beaver's* deck every night—often till the middle watch had nearly worn away—and observed that more than half the time the sentries were so deficient in vigilance as to be hailed several times before answering. Perceiving the advantage that might result if I could substitute my answer for that of the sentry on board our ship, I often took the trumpet and found my 'Alerto' to be as current as that of the Spanish sentry.

"I noticed also that a great number of men were sent away in the launches every night to guard some weak points at the eastern extremity of the town. With a view of ascertaining the feasibility of rendering nugatory our guard of twenty soldiers, I tried the experiment of giving them a can of grog mixed with a little laudanum, which put them all into so profound a sleep for several hours as to give us entire control of the ship—a circumstance which was concealed from their superiors by my 'Alerto' passing for that of the proper sentry.

"With these preliminary experiences and my general knowledge of the slovenly manner in which the duties of officers and men were performed on board Spanish ships of war, it appeared to me that if a favorable opportunity presented, and my men were resolute, we might take the commodore's ship by a *coup-de-main*.

"It must be obvious that the carrying-out successfully the plan I had formed must depend upon obtaining possession of the fastest sailing ship, which I had ascertained to be the *Venganza*. Once in possession of this ship, it would not require more than two or three hours before we should have brought her to anchor in the bay of St. Vincent's, which is only about two miles to windward of Talcahuana. About a mile east of this bay the patriot army was encamped, the commander of which could not fail to perceive the advantage which fortune had thus thrown in his way, and would lose no time in furnishing the number of men requisite for the performance of the various duties on board. These could be embarked, and a return to Talcahuana effected in twelve hours from the time of having left there, though it is probable a few additional hours might be required to adjust the mode of proceeding.

"A vigorous and simultaneous attack by this frigate on one side and by the patriot army on the other would cause the surrender of the town and shipping in a very short time. I should then have

gained possession of the *Beaver* with the principal part of her cargo yet on board. But this constituted only a small part of my plan. The main object, then, was to revolutionize the kingdom of Peru; and to effect this purpose the way seemed to be clear, and not very difficult if I could induce the Chilian general to furnish me with the requisite number of men, which, as they were no longer wanted at Talcahuana, it was presumable he would do.

"With the *Venganza* thus manned, and before the possibility of any account of these transactions reaching the blockading squadron off Valparaiso, I would proceed thither with Spanish colors flying, sheer alongside the commodore's ship, the *Esmeralda*, before those on board had any suspicion of danger, and take her, probably without losing a man. The smaller vessels composing the blockading force would then surrender without resistance.

"When I had thus been the means of placing in the power of the Chilian government the whole naval force of Peru, my personal services would be no longer necessary.

* * * * * * * *

"Thus amid the pressure of misfortune were my spirits buoyed up with the prospect of a change in my affairs, possibly a brilliant one, conducting to fame, fortune, the chastisement of my persecutors, and, more gratifying than all, to the restoration to my employers of their property, with abundant advantage.

"The desperate measure, the execution of which now occupied my sleeping as well as waking hours, in which the lives of myself and associates, as well as those of innocent Spanish seamen, would be jeopardized or sacrificed, I was aware would be viewed by some as high-handed, lawless, and piratical; by others as a just retaliation for the injuries I had suffered; and by a greater number as favoring the efforts of an oppressed people for the overthrow of a despotic government, and the establishment of a liberal one in its stead, and, therefore, highly commendable.

"But to perceive or feel the full force of the motives by which I was actuated, it is proper to refer to some scenes in my narrative already detailed, such as the fruit of many years of my hard earnings being swept off, and myself and family reduced to poverty, by the robbery of Admiral Cochrane, sanctioned by a wicked judge of vice-admiralty without a justifiable cause and in violation of the law of

nations; next, the treacherous, mean, and cowardly manner in which, by order of Napoleon, my vessel and cargo were stolen from me by Murat; and now without having violated any law, or deviated in any degree from the tenor of the existing treaty, being again stripped of my property, reduced to penury, and goaded with the prospect of the long train of evils which were inevitable. Let such repeated and deeply distressing wrongs be brought home to the breast of any one, and if they be not considered sufficient to justify the measure on which I had determined, they will do much towards extenuating it."

Having very cautiously communicated the subject of his thoughts to two of the most trustworthy of his men, and encouraged them by citing instances in which a few determined men had overcome a greatly superior number simply by taking them by surprise, he found them ready and willing to sustain him if he would take the lead. He then told them to sound their companions as opportunity offered, impressing upon them the necessity of great caution. The result was as he had anticipated. The men were all greatly exasperated by the treatment they had received, and the loss of their wages, and were ready and earnest to engage in any scheme which offered a chance of emancipation. It only remained, therefore, to make the proper arrangements and determine upon the time to strike the blow.

The mates of the brig *Canton* were both kept on board the frigate, and it was, of course, a matter of importance that they should be enlisted in the enterprise. For this purpose my father made a visit to the commodore, with whom he had become familiarly acquainted, and, after conversing with him for some time, took his leave, and then stopped to have a chat with his country-

men on the deck. No one else was present but the two sentries, neither of whom understood a word of English. They had already heard from some of the men a rumor of what was going on, and admitted the feasibility of the scheme if the men could be depended on, and readily agreed to take part in it.

It had been observed that on Sundays, in addition to the men sent off on duty, others were allowed to go ashore for amusement, and on Sunday afternoon most of the officers also were seeking recreation away from the ship. It was agreed, therefore, that Sunday afternoon should be the time of attack. On Saturday afternoon they met by agreement in a secluded place and found they numbered fifteen, besides the two on board the frigate. After designating the men to go in the different boats, and giving directions as to the kind of arms to be carried and how they could best be concealed, my father gave them their final directions as minutely as possible. Those in the *Canton's* boat were ordered to be sailing about near the frigate, and when they saw the *Beaver's* boat go to the starboard side of the ship, they were to go alongside on the larboard. The boats' crews, mounting simultaneously on opposite sides of the ship, were instantly to clear the deck of the Spaniards; and at the same time those who were designated for the purpose were to cast loose the fore-topsail and cut the cable. The wind at that season was so invariably from the south, and blowing so fresh, that the possibility of its failing them was not even thought of, though it was obvious that it was absolutely essential to their success.

Before parting my father addressed them a few words of encouragement, based upon a full knowledge which he presumed they possessed of the hazardous nature of the undertaking. He bade them remember that, once embarked in it, there could be no retreat; that victory or death was the only alternative; that although the chances of a glorious result and escape from the misery they were suffering were very favorable if they were true to each other, and behaved with spirit and determination, yet the least flinching by any one at the critical moment might be the ruin of all. If, therefore, any one of them felt unequal to facing the danger, he wished him to avow it and withdraw while there was yet time. All being resolute, they dispersed and returned to the ship in different parties.

Early Sunday forenoon my father made a call upon the commodore, and, after spending half an hour with him, and promising to return in the afternoon with a book he wished to borrow, he spent some time on deck with the two mates, and satisfied himself by the observations he made that if his men were true he need have little anxiety for the result.

But when he left the frigate, after eleven o'clock, the south wind had not yet begun to blow. A dead calm prevailed. This was very unusual, and, of course, excited great anxiety. Hour after hour passed by but no breeze came. But it might spring up suddenly before dark, and in that hope the soothing draught was administered to the soldiers on board the *Beaver*, which soon had its effect, and left the crew at liberty to arm themselves and make all their preparations at leisure. It was

in vain. Day sank into night without a breath from the south, and another week of suspense awaited them.

Moral as well as physical causes had doubtless been operating to produce disease, which for some days had been making its approach. On the day after the intended attack upon the frigate my father was delirious with fever, and on his recovery wrote to my mother as follows:

"When on the point of putting my plan into execution I was suddenly and severely seized with typhus fever, which came near terminating my existence. For nearly a week I was unconscious of all passing occurrences, and when I recovered the opportunity was gone, and no alternative was left me but submission to my fate. During my illness my ship and cargo were condemned, and I am now waiting the establishment of the court of appeal at St. Jago. But before this can take place they have got to perform the task of conquering the country.

"For this purpose about five thousand men marched from here a fortnight since, with a confidence of success founded on their contempt for the enemy, and which may prove their ruin, as the patriots possess double their number, and are ready to meet them. If the latter are successful they will soon be here again, when we shall, in consequence, be sent to Lima, where the business will soon be settled. Not less prompt will be its termination if the royalists are decidedly successful, but what we have most to dread is a protracted warfare, as in this case the only apparent limit to our detention is the expenditure of the proceeds of the ship and cargo. They have already issued a decree for taking out of the ship goods to the amount of $100,000. Their necessities have compelled them to take this property, and I am much more apprehensive that they will not possess the ability to return it, than of the decision of the court of appeal. As there is no legitimate cause for the condemnation of the property, there is no doubt it must eventually be restored; but my brilliant prospects are ruined, and instead of indulging the pleasing idea of passing the evening of life in ease and quiet, I am trying to reconcile myself to continued toil and privation, and to bless my

stars if, by such exertions and sacrifices, I am able to defray the expense of educating my boys.

"*March* 30.—The army which marched from here two months ago is said to have gained a brilliant victory over the patriot forces of double their number, and the belief in the truth of this report is so general that they are in daily expectation of hearing of the capture of the capital, St. Jago. There are so many letters to this effect that I could not fail to give credit to them if experience had not taught me their habitual disregard of truth. Hence I have doubts and fears which time only can remove.

"*May* 6.—When I wrote you last the royal troops were said to have gained a great and decisive victory, and it was supposed that there would be no obstacle to their entering the capital.

"All the members of the civil department of the government were preparing to set off for St. Jago, and I intended to accompany or soon follow them for the purpose of prosecuting the appeal in the tribunal that would be immediately established there, in which I had the most flattering expectations of a restoration of the property.

"While all were on the tiptoe of expectation of hearing of the entry of the royal army into the capital and the consequent subjugation of the country, who should make his appearance but the commander-in-chief, General Ossorio, weighing at least one third less than when he set out, worn down with fatigue and fear, and accompanied by half a dozen meagre soldiers—almost the only remnant of the once formidable royal army. They were completely defeated on the 5th ultimo near St. Jago, and the second in command, General Ordoñez, the man who had been the cause of my ruin, was made prisoner. The scene that immediately succeeded the arrival of the general was one of dismay and confusion. Horses, mules, carts, wagons, and everything of the kind were put in requisition to transport goods from Concepcion to this place. The road for two days was crowded, and those who could not procure conveyances were travelling on foot, some of the women carrying infants, others their poultry, and driving the family hog; and such a universal panic seized them that if only five hundred of the patriots had appeared this place would have made no opposition. Talcahuana became immediately even more crowded than during the siege; every shed and outhouse, however miserable, was filled. The ships were prepared

for taking off the families and garrison, and everybody was occupied in getting their effects on board. After a week had passed, and no enemy appeared, they began to recover their senses, and even to think they might defend the place.

"The prospect of a speedy termination of my business was annihilated by this defeat. It was asserted that the Americans were friendly to the patriots, and that letters had been found from Captain Biddle, of the United States ship *Ontario*, to the patriot chief, expressing sympathy with their cause, so that we were looked upon as enemies. We are now, therefore, in a most irksome state of suspense.

"While one party is desirous of defending the place, in the belief that its possession is important to the reconquest of the country, the other is desirous of losing no time in embarking themselves and their effects for Lima, and this from the well-founded reason of the total inability of the royal party to raise a force sufficient to offer even a chance of subjugating the country. If the first plan prevails, it is impossible to conjecture when I shall be able to leave here. If the second, and we proceed to Lima, a decision will soon take place; and if my property is restored I shall probably proceed to China, or perhaps direct to America. If not I shall take the first ship that sails either for Spain or the United States. You perceive, therefore, that I am entirely at a loss to know when or where I am bound.

"The idea of being obliged to absent myself again and again from my beloved family is productive of gloomy feelings in spite of every effort to ward them off. It required the realization of all my hopes in regard to this voyage to reconcile me to the absence from home which it involved; and yet, O miserable man! you have a prospect of reaping only disgrace and ruin.

"Affairs, however, may yet take a turn, and prospects may brighten. The *Beaver* is not yet sold, and only about half the cargo. These may be restored to me by the tribunal of appeal, or one of our frigates may arrive here and compel a restoration of the whole with damages. The aggravation is so outrageous that I do not see how our government can fail to take cognizance of it, and, though it may be some time before the property is realized, yet I am confident it will be eventually.

"*May* 7.—This morning the general sent for Mr. Coffin, of the *Canton*, and myself, and told us he was desirous of doing justice without further delay, and for this purpose had ordered the *Canton* to be got ready to proceed to Lima, where all our papers would also be sent, and where the tribunal of appeals would decide on the legality of the proceedings towards us here. Here, then, is a ray of hope for the restoration of the property, and, at any rate, a prospect of relief from this distracting state of suspense. If the property is restored, as one half the cargo is yet unsold, as the ship will remain at Talcahuana till the decision, and as it may be difficult to get from the government the amount already expended, it may yet be some time before I can leave this part of the world; but if I succeed in recovering the property all will end well."

The *Canton* was equipped for sea and departed for Lima as rapidly as possible, and the relief even of a change of scene, after seven months of continued privations, mortification, anxiety, and disgust was inexpressibly refreshing and encouraging.

CHAPTER XI.

1818.

Letters to the Viceroy and to Mr. Astor.—Arrival at Lima.—Reception by the Viceroy.—Goes to Valparaiso on a Secret Mission.—The *Beaver* Restored.—Captain Biddle Supplies a First Officer.

ALTHOUGH the authorities at Talcahuana pretended that the order to go to Lima was a voluntary act on their part, adopted as a measure of justice, it was in reality the result of an order from the Viceroy of Peru, elicited in response to the following letter from my father, which he had sent by the commander of a ship of war. This letter, and the one which follows it to Mr. Astor, from Lima, I deem of such importance, from their intrinsic interest, and as illustrations of character, that I give them at length.

"To his Excellency Don Joaquin de la Pezuela, Cavalier of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabella the Catholic, Lieutenant-General of the Armies, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain-General of Peru, etc.:

"SHIP 'BEAVER,' TALCAHUANA, *January* 28, 1818.

"MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—While the kingdom of Chili remains in so unsettled a state as to possess no other than a military government; while, by drawing its resources from that of Peru, the evidence of its dependence on and subjection to that government is apparent, and, moreover, while the Viceroy of Peru is commander of the royal navy in these seas, by a part of which my ship was first taken possession of, I cannot suppose that your excellency, on being made acquainted with the conduct of the men in power here towards us,

will fail to take cognizance of it, or will view with indifference the citizens of a power in amity with Spain, not only denied the common rights of hospitality, but treated—through the machinations of two or three malicious, interested, and ignorant men in office—with a degree of rigor which would hardly be justifiable if our respective nations were actually at war with each other.

"A consciousness of the integrity and legitimacy of my views, of the distress by which I was compelled to enter the port, of my right to do so, secured to me by treaty, and of my having violated no law of this country are causes which relieve me from any feeling of apprehension of the event of the most rigid scrutiny in a tribunal composed of honest, intelligent, and honorable men, and I have therefore repeatedly urged the propriety of being sent to Lima, and have appealed to the decision of the tribunal there. But the men who have been so ready to condemn my valuable ship and cargo have other views, widely different from the dispensation of justice or the benefiting of the state ; and consequently have not only refused this, but, as if fearful that an order for this purpose might come from Lima, or by some other means the property escape their grasp, have issued a decree for taking out of the ship the amount of $100,000, and acted upon it with a degree of precipitancy which gives additional evidence of such apprehension.

"With a view apparently to save appearances, and as an apology for a trial, some formalities have been observed, but such only as, in any country where honesty is esteemed a virtue, would stamp its conductors with merited infamy.

"The answers to the interrogatories were attempted to be interpreted, and the ship's papers translated, by two common sailors, men without education, and who know not any one rule of grammar even in their native language.

"At a period when my life was despaired of from a severe attack of fever, as if to add insult and cruelty to violence and injustice, an officer was sent to me with the papers relating to the proofs, in order that I might make my defence. My total incapacity to give the least attention to this was not less evident than I believe it to have been gratifying to my persecutors, who, without hesitancy, named a Mr. Antigas to defend my cause—a man whom I had then never even seen, and the little acquaintance I have had with him since has

not inspired me with much respect for his talents or energy; but I doubt not he is such a person as suited the views of the prosecuting party. His acquaintance with the law I understand to be very superficial, and, moreover, that, not having a diploma, whatever efforts he might make in our behalf would have had no validity. Under such circumstances the issue of the trial (if such proceedings can merit the name) has been such as did not require a gift of prophecy to foretell. My ship and cargo have been declared a prize.

"Contrary to the accustomed usages of all nations, and as if conscious of the unfairness of the proceedings, I have been denied the perusal of any papers relating to the process, and am yet ignorant of the reasons (if they have found any) for the condemnation. If, however, they are not more legitimate and well-grounded than those exhibited in the decree for taking out a part of the cargo, if there is equal evidence of such glaring injustice and prostitution of forms in the former as in the latter, the most depraved tribunal would be ashamed not to reverse the decree of condemnation. Of the decree to which I allude I enclose your excellency a copy, not only as a curiosity, but as a specimen of the manner in which important concerns are conducted here, and will waive any comments other than such as are excited by the inconsistency and contemptible hypocrisy of exhibiting a show of fairness in naming the commissioners to appraise the goods, and at the same time warning them against appraising them too high. The consequence has been such as was naturally to be expected and was intended. The commissioners, held in awe by the tenor of the decree (if not influenced by interested motives) have selected the best and most valuable part of my cargo, and in many instances have appraised goods at less than their first cost, and in all were insensible of their enhanced value by the expense of insurance and freight.

"The prospects of my voyage, even in the event of a speedy reversal of the decree, are utterly ruined, and the amount of injury I have suffered will probably remain to be discussed and settled by the governments of Spain and the United States.

"Nearly four months have already elapsed since my arrival in this port, and it is said to be the intention of the prosecutors that my detention shall be continued till the re-establishment of the royal government in St. Jago. But I cannot help flattering myself that

your excellency, reflecting on the precariousness of the event of war, will determine to despatch a conditional order for our proceeding to Lima, in the event of the reconquest of this kingdom not being accomplished within a limited time.

"In this rational hope, which seems to afford the only prospect of terminating the wretched state of suspense and persecution, I subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, etc., etc.

"R. J. CLEVELAND."

"LIMA, *July* 25, 1818.

"JOHN JACOB ASTOR, ESQ.,—At a period when it is obvious that the most important consequences may result from a speedy communication between this government and Talcahuana, they are seldom able to accomplish it in a more limited time than three months. The order for my proceeding to Lima was communicated to me on the 7th of May, immediately after its arrival, and, I have since learned, was the effect produced by my letter to the viceroy of the 28th of January. He ordered the *Beaver* to be sent here at the same time, but General Ossorio, being apprehensive that he might be obliged to evacuate the place, detained her for the purpose of assisting in bringing away the garrison and inhabitants. This order has been reiterated by a ship which was despatched by this government and sailed on the 23d of June, and which ship is destined to supply the place of the *Beaver*.

"I arrived here on the 28th of May with the ship's papers and all the documents relative to the process, and lost no time in waiting upon the viceroy in company with Mr. Coffin, the supercargo of the *Canton*.

"Our interview was short. The viceroy accused the Americans and English of promoting and encouraging the rebellion by furnishing arms and ammunition, of contravening the laws by introducing merchandise into the country, and carrying away the specie, without paying a duty on the export or import, and generally of seriously injuring the commerce and prosperity of the country. But, nevertheless (he added), we might rely on his protection while here, and that justice should be administered to us. Without waiting for a reply he abruptly left us.

"Some weeks elapsed before it could be decided whether the cause

should be tried by the royal hacienda, or by the marine, but was finally determined for the latter. In the meantime the papers had undergone a scrutiny by the general as well as the assessor (or attorney) of the marine. The former assured us, as his private opinion, *that there was no cause for condemnation*, and that the vessels and property must be restored to their original owners. The latter has expressed the same opinion to an acquaintance of mine, who communicated it to me. On the 28th ult. the *Ontario* returned from Valparaiso, and brought as passenger a Mr. Robinson, vested with powers from Mr. Provost to prosecute the suit of the *Beaver* and *Canton*, and provided with some collateral evidence in favor of the former. On his being presented and making known the object of his visit, the viceroy assured him that the business was in proper train and should be accomplished as soon as possible, that the conduct of the government of Talcahuana with regard to those vessels was very reprehensible, and that he had annulled all their proceedings. I am induced to believe, therefore, that there is little doubt of a favorable result here, and an immediate restoration of the vessels. But as it respects the property already expended, the poverty of this government is such that its immediate restoration is out of the question. Indeed, Mr. Provost was so satisfied of this that in his instructions to Mr. Robinson he recommended him (on reversal of the sentence) to get an acknowledgment of the debt, but not to urge its payment. However politic this advice may be, I shall not be governed by it, but, on the contrary, will leave no means unattempted which offer the least prospect of attaining this desirable end. The mission of Messrs. Provost and Robinson may have had a beneficial influence on our affairs, inasmuch as it evinces a watchfulness and determination on the part of our government to protect the commerce of its citizens; but I am fully convinced that, with this government, one such vessel as the *Ontario* is of more utility than a host of negotiators, nor do I believe that the united powers of a Demosthenes and a Cicero, with truth and justice on their side, would be in any degree so efficacious as the silent eloquence of one of our formidable frigates.

"I had scarcely accomplished delivering the cargo of the *Beaver* at Talcahuana, when the news of the destruction of the royal army threw everything into confusion and suspended the settlement of the

business with the commissioners. They had at this time appraised to the amount of about $188,000, and the goods remaining unappraised I suppose to be worth $30,000 more.

"When General Ossorio ordered them to pay into the treasury the amount of sales they had made, and to have the goods which remained on hand transported from Concepcion to Talcahuana, it was discovered that nearly one half of the cargo was yet unsold. It is not improbable that the general will appropriate as much of this as he can convert into cash, and the remainder will come here in the *Beaver*. If he should not have been able to effect a sale of these goods, and they are sent here, I hope to recover and realize an amount from them which will enable me to employ the ship advantageously. My views now are on reversal of the sentence of Talcahuana, to get possession of the ship and as much of the property as I can without delay. The aggregate amount of principal and damages will be about $300,000, of which I may get from the cargo remaining on hand $100,000, leaving $200,000 due from the government.

"As there is no probability of their possessing the means of paying this directly, I shall propose to them to grant me some privileges for the introduction of cargoes, the duties on which to go towards cancelling the debt. At the present time a handsome voyage might be made to Valparaiso and back, but it is probable that before I am put in possession of my ship advantage will be taken of it by others and the business rendered not worth pursuing. In this case I shall try to get a license for the introduction of a cargo from China, on the presumption that here and at Canton I may be able to get from five to seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars shipped on a proportion of the profits, which profits, combined with the duties on so large an amount, would furnish a capital to invest in China for the United States equal to the original exportations; but as this voyage would meet with powerful opposition from the Philippine Co., its being granted is very problematical. In the event of failure in this, there can be no opposition to a cargo from the United States, and as there exists no prospect of recovering the debt except by an operation of this kind, not a moment should be lost in putting it in execution. I should, therefore, proceed immediately to Guayaquil, load my ship with cocoa, and sail direct for New York.

"You will perceive, sir, that I am anxious to adopt that plan

which presents a prospect of the most speedy accomplishment, not alone from a conviction that despatch is the life of business, but having in view that a political change here may annihilate the advantage of our exclusive privilege; for notwithstanding I perceive no immediate prospect of such change, yet there is no misfortune which may occur which I ought not to take into consideration.

"After all the flattering inferences I have drawn from the conduct and observation of the ruling men of this country (I mean Lima) relating to us, it must not be forgotten that dissimulation, deceit, lying, and theft, with the combination of vices incident to excessive ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, are, with few exceptions, not less the characteristics of the higher than of the lower classes of society, and that if any evidence of the observance of the rule of justice is shown us, it will proceed alone from the apprehension of the mischief that may result from a contrary course.

"I have now, sir, given you a general idea of the state of your affairs under my charge, and have been willing to incur the risk of being considered tedious, rather than that of being deficient in conveying to you all the information of which I am desirous you should be possessed, and while I acknowledge that my mind continues to be unceasingly agitated with alternate hope and fear, I nevertheless flatter myself that my next will be more decisive and satisfactory.

"*August* 1. — Since writing the preceding Mr. Provost has touched here (in the *Blossom*, English sloop-of-war) on his way to Columbia River for a purpose which you are doubtless better acquainted with than I am. Previous to his arrival I had determined to go to Valparaiso with the view of making arrangements with the government there for those advantages which the peculiar situation of my ship leads me to believe will be exclusively mine. His opinion coincided with mine in the propriety of this step, particularly as my presence here would not accelerate the decision of our process, and also as, in case of any accident to myself, Mr. Robinson was here to attend to the business and fill my place. I shall sail tomorrow in the English frigate *Andromache*, Captain Sheriffe, who has politely offered me a passage.

"The public exigencies are such here that, for several days past, the question of opening the port to foreigners has been agitated with a degree of warmth corresponding to its importance, and the jarring

interests such a measure must necessarily create. It has been averted for the moment by the holders of goods contracting to loan the government the amount of which they are in immediate want, but, as this mode of supply will doubtless be discovered to be precarious, it is highly probable that before the expiration of six months they will be compelled to admit foreign ships. In this event it is probable that a competition, similar to that which has been exhibited in Chili, will take place here, and with similar effect. One or two good voyages may be made and many bad ones; indeed, the supply of manufactures which will be immediately thrown in here from Chili will be such as to make a speculation from the United States extremely hazardous.

"It is possible that before the order for the *Beaver's* coming here can be executed at Talcahuana, that place may have surrendered to the republicans, in which case I may find the ship at Valparaiso, ready to be delivered to me in conformity with the promise made by that government to Mr. Provost. If the place should not have fallen the ship will soon be here, and there is every reason to believe she will be restored to me, together with as much of the cargo as shall then remain unsold.

"The bearer of this (Mr. Reynard) is as well informed of the probable result of my affairs here as I am myself, and I, therefore, refer you to him for such information as may have escaped me on this subject, and likewise for such on another subject as prudence forbids my descanting upon at the present juncture."

The allusion at the conclusion of this letter has reference to a delicate errand involving no inconsiderable personal risk. His ostensible object in going to Valparaiso was to make a shipment of wheat to Lima, on which he perceived an opportunity for large profits, the necessary capital for which was furnished by a rich mercantile house in Lima. But in addition to this he had an ulterior object which afforded the best possible evidence of the confidence reposed in him by the viceroy. He was, in fact, sent by him on a secret mission, and the

license to ship wheat to Lima was given him, not only as a compensation, but as a blind to cover the real object of his visit to Valparaiso. The patriot government of Chili was negotiating for the purchase of a sixty-four-gun ship belonging to the East India Company, and then lying in that port; but at the last accounts they had been unable to comply with the terms demanded. In order, if possible, to prevent the consummation of the bargain, my father was authorized by the viceroy to endeavor to make a secret purchase of her for account of the Spanish government. He took passage in the British frigate *Andromache*, provided with the necessary authority for making the negotiation, but found on arriving at Valparaiso that the Chilians had already consummated the purchase and were in possession of the ship.

Some considerable time elapsed before he could secure a vessel to take a return cargo to Lima, and various causes delayed her departure, so that it was late in October before he arrived there.

The following letter to Mr. Astor, from Valparaiso, shows how fully his mind was occupied with devising means to retrieve the misfortunes he had encountered. It will be seen by the explanation given in this letter that he had been restrained from writing by the same prudential reasons which affected him at Calcutta.

"VALPARAISO, *September* 1, 1818.

"JOHN JACOB ASTOR, Esq.,—At the date of my last I was on the point of leaving Lima for this place on a mission which had for its object the restoration of your ship and cargo. Whether a partial accomplishment of it will tend to this effect time only can deter-

mine. I had, however, such assurances of her restoration that I shall feel justified in being at the expense of taking with me to Lima two mates, if I can engage here such as will suit me. . . .

"I shall leave this in about three weeks for Lima, where I hope to find the cause decided favorably and the *Beaver* arrived and at my disposal. In this case, if the government do not pay me, I shall endeavor to get permission for the introduction of a large cargo from China, the duties on which to be appropriated to this purpose; or, failing in this, I may possibly obtain sufficient to lade the ship with cocoa for your account for Europe or the United States; or I may be able to employ her advantageously for a few months between Lima and this port. In the adoption of either of these or any other plan I shall be influenced only by the desire of doing that which shall afford the fairest prospect of promoting your interest. Amid the perplexities and misfortunes which attend me I derive consolation from the reflection that I have afforded the royal government not even the shadow of cause for condemning the property; that it must therefore be restored; and that if the period of its recovery should yet be distant, it will, nevertheless, turn out more advantageously to you than to have arrived safe at this port.

"The *Packet*, of Boston, is now here, having disposed of only about half her cargo, and at little or no advance on its cost, and generally the speculations here will eventuate unprofitably."

On arriving at Callao he found that Captain Biddle, of the United States ship *Ontario*, had been earnestly urging the release of the *Beaver*, by representing to the viceroy that her seizure was regarded by the United States government as a very serious cause of complaint. Of these efforts on the part of Captain Biddle my father says, in his narrative:

"These representations doubtless had an effect in hastening the business, but the restoration of the ship and what remained of her cargo were acts entirely independent of these efforts, and are of a description which prudential reasons prevent being made public."

This has reference to the secret mission on which he had been employed, and which it would have been discourteous to have published while the viceroy, Don Joaquin de la Pezuela, was still living.

The character of the viceroy seemed indeed to form a striking contrast with that of most of the Spanish officials whom he had encountered. He appreciated the frankness and honesty as well as the energy and business capacity of my father's character, and not only gave him marked proofs of his confidence at that time, but, years afterwards, when he accidentally met him at Madrid, he manifested his friendly remembrance by the kindest acts of hospitality.

His first letter from Lima after his return, dated November 30, 1818, announces the reversal of the decree of Talcahuana and the restoration of the ship.

"Thus, my dear wife, after having been deprived of my command of the *Beaver* for thirteen months, I am again reinstated. But what a contrast between the ship I left and the one restored to me! It will require an outlay of at least five thousand dollars to put the ship in as good a state as when I left her, and if the labor were to be performed by the common seamen picked up here it would be an excessively tedious job; but fortunately Captain Sheriffe, of the English frigate *Andromache*, is equally disposed with Captain Biddle to render me every assistance, and as 'many hands make light work,' I shall soon have my ship put in good order again by men from these vessels of war. Although this government is not able to return me the amount of the cargo, the decision is highly important to all concerned, inasmuch as it must exonerate me from censure, and will afford us a just claim for the most ample damages.

"The satisfaction naturally arising from this event is nearly counterbalanced by the reflection that it must retard rather than accelerate my return. The government has no means of cancelling their

debt to me except that of a privilege for the introduction of a cargo here, the duties on which to be appropriated to this purpose. Hence the necessity of an operation which must add another year to my already long absence; but imperious duty demands this sacrifice, and in making it I become reconciled, from the prospect it affords of doing away with the necessity for any future separation. God grant that no untoward event may occur to blast this prospect, to annihilate this cheering hope, which has tended to buoy me up amidst the multiplicity of ills by which I have been threatened to be engulfed. . . .

"I meet with general congratulations on the restoration of my ship by those who suppose it to be a great piece of good fortune; but unless some privilege is granted us it is directly the reverse, inasmuch as my emolument was to be derived from the cargo, without which the ship is only an embarrassment, unless accompanied by some special license.

"A petition for a voyage to China and back here, with a proposal that the duties thereon shall be appropriated to the payment of our claims, is now before the government; but as the viceroy is timid, and we have the whole weight of the Philippine Company against us, I do not flatter myself with success. Failing in this, there seems to be no other alternative than applying to the court of Spain—the fountain-head of prevarication, evasion, and dissimulation — and where the chance of success is in an exact ratio with their apprehension of consequences. In this event I shall endeavor to lade my ship with cocoa and proceed to Gibraltar, where I may probably arrive in June, and be with you in the autumn of 1819.

"How does my heart leap with joy at the idea of being again at home! How does my imagination trace the expressive countenance of each individual of the dear circle! How naturally and reciprocally will the observations of the ravages of time and care be called forth! And how earnestly will my dear boys desire a relation of the adventures of their poor, old, careworn father."

I cannot repeat the many interesting details which my father gives in his narrative of his experiences after the restoration of the ship in endeavoring to retrieve his own fortunes, and also to make good the losses which

had fallen upon the underwriters, to whom the ship had been long since abandoned. But in order that their action on his return should appear in its true light it is proper to give a general outline of what he accomplished.

A leading merchant of Lima, presuming that he would adopt the usual shorthand course of selling the ship at auction for the benefit of the underwriters, proposed to him to buy her in for joint account, and employ her in freighting on the coast—his furnishing the capital being considered an equivalent to my father's services in commanding the ship, and the profits to be shared equally. This course would have been legally justifiable, and in accordance with common custom, and there was no doubt would lead directly to fortune. But the proposal was at once declined, and solely from the sense of moral obligation to those who had suffered loss of property which was under his care, and the feeling that if the ship could be advantageously employed it should be for their account.

The first great difficulty was to find seamen. The original crew of the *Beaver* was long since dispersed, and many of them had entered the Chilian service. Captain Biddle, who had exhibited a very warm and friendly interest throughout his connection with the affair, rendered finally a most important service by granting permission to one of his midshipmen to take the position of first mate. This was Mr. Alexander B. Pinkham, a most active, efficient, and intelligent officer. His services proved of very great value on more than one trying occasion, and he remained to the day of his death

so warm and true a friend of my father's that I am tempted to pay a tribute to his memory by quoting a portion of a letter which my father received from him, in acknowledgment of a copy of his published narrative, more than twenty years after these occurrences.

The tone in which he alludes to them is no less honorable to himself, in the evidence of character it affords, than complimentary to the one he addresses:

PORTSMOUTH, VA., *May* 29, 1842.

"R. J. CLEVELAND, Esq.:

"*My Dear Sir*,—The author of "Gil Blas" shrewdly reflected that his book would be read by two classes of persons, whom he ingeniously described in the prefatory tale of the two students.

"I think I may make three classes of your readers. The young commercial adventurer will find it a useful monitor from which he will learn how much may be done by pursuing an honorable course with industry and perseverance. To those whom age or infirmity have compelled to retire from the more stirring scenes of life it will be highly entertaining, while the fireside traveller will envy you the happiness of having visited so many different countries, and will judge from the easy and smooth manner in which you have detailed your adventures that their achievement must have been less difficult than you pretend, like the reverend doctors who thought it strange that the achievement of Columbus should be thought so great a matter.

"It is amusing to me to revert to what my impressions were of you the first time I saw you. To have supposed you had ever met with any adventures, either by sea or land, would have been farthest from my thoughts. That you might have led a life of industry and application to business was probable enough, and that you were familiar with accounts and business forms. I was not undeceived for several months, but when the time came for active exertions, our first movement (upon the attack of the Chilian fleet), and subsequently on our voyage to Pisco, and during our short stay there, showed me that I had mistaken my man.

"The year that I served in the *Beaver* was full of the most pleas-

ing excitement. The pecuniary prospects of the voyages, the gentlemanly treatment I received from you, the elegant and comfortable ship, the handsome style in which we lived, the liberal provision you made for everything as far as elegancies, comforts, and conveniences were procurable; your excellent discipline with regard to officers and men, accompanied with the most magnanimous generosity to all, your resolution and firmness under danger, whether from without or from internal commotion, inspired such an attachment for you as I have never felt for any other commander."

CHAPTER XII.

1819, 1820.

Operations on the Coast of Peru.—Proclamation of Blockade, which he Sets at Defiance with Entire Success.—Satisfaction of the Viceroy.—Sails for Rio Janeiro.

At length, by permission of the viceroy, a crew was made up of captives who had been taken from Chilian ships and imprisoned at Callao. These prisoners were of all nations, but principally English and Americans. No sooner did they learn that my father had an order for the release of fifteen of their number than the anxiety of every one to be included among the fortunate ones was so great as to make the task of selection very painful, and, at the risk of not getting the best men, he finally deputed the duty to the jailor. On the 28th of February an exciting occurrence took place in the harbor, which afforded evidence of the danger he incurred from the shipment of such a crew.

The viceroy had selected this day for his annual visit to the fleet and line of defence. As is often the case at that season, a dense fog prevailed, and while the viceroy was making the circuit of the bay on board the brig *Maipo*, the mist lifted for a few moments and revealed the presence of two Chilian ships of war, which had quietly made their way in, and were within half cannon-shot of the castle, and in close proximity to the *Maipo*,

whose retreat was near being cut off. A lively cannonade was at once opened by both parties, and a few minutes later, when the fog again closed down, it became evident that they were firing at random, as several shot passed between the masts of the *Beaver*, and were striking the water both inside and out of where she lay. Fearing that the ship might sustain injury, the cables were slipped and all sail made to get out of the way. A few minutes later they found themselves close alongside another Chilian ship of sixty-four guns, and as friend could not be distinguished from foe in the dense fog, they came near having a whole broadside poured into them. Every man was at his station with lighted matches, and only waiting the order to fire, when the mistake was discovered. While speaking her, five of his men jumped overboard and were picked up by a boat from the ship of war.

No result of any importance was achieved by this attack. After exchanging shots for half an hour, the Chilian ships withdrew without capturing a single Spanish vessel, and came to anchor near the island of San Lorenzo. The *Beaver* returned to her anchorage, but the men manifested a mutinous spirit and showed so plainly their wish to desert to their countrymen that it became evident that vigorous measures of prevention must be adopted. The boats were, therefore, securely fastened, the officers armed themselves, and the men were told that instant death would be the portion of any one who attempted to desert.

Meantime the commander of the Chilian navy, Lord Cochrane (a nephew of Sir Hugh Cochrane, who sent

my father into Tortola) had issued a proclamation of blockade of the whole coast of Peru from its southern extremity to Guayaquil. The utter incompetency of the Chilian navy to enforce a legal blockade of even an eighth part of this great extent of coast rendered it obvious that the proclamation was only intended as an apology for the robbery of neutrals. As the government of the United States had declared and maintained its disregard of the paper blockades of England and France, there was no reason to doubt that the same principle would apply to this case, and my father determined to set it at defiance, trusting to being sustained by his government, and feeling confident also that Chili would be very cautious of committing any outrage at the risk of offending her best friend. This decision was in opposition to that of all the other neutral agents, and the *Beaver* was the only one of the twelve neutral vessels then lying in the port of Callao whose destination was not defeated and prospects ruined by this proclamation.

I quote the following from my father's published account:

"Being all prepared to sail on the 8th of March, I went on board the O'Higgins frigate to demand my men who had deserted, but with no expectation that they would be restored.

"When I made known the object of my visit to the captain, an Englishman named Foster, he not only peremptorily refused to give them up, but insolently expressed his regret that more of them had not deserted.

"As I was leaving his ship he tauntingly held up the proclamation of blockade, and bid me beware of the consequences. I replied that I was as well acquainted with my business as he was with

his, and, therefore, the caution, or threat, was unnecessary and misplaced.

"I next went on board the *Lautaro* to see Captain Guise, with whom I became acquainted at Valparaiso. The friendly and polite reception I met with from this gentleman formed a striking contrast to that of Captain Foster, and presented a remarkable instance of the different conduct under the same circumstances of officers of the same grade, one of whom had been reared and educated in polished society, and the other among the low and vulgar.

"Captain Guise expressed regret that their present want of men was such that no influence he could use with Lord Cochrane would be of any avail.

"In speaking of the proclamation of blockade, I did not fail to express my opinion that the United States would support me in not considering those ports blockaded before which there was no naval force, and that I had determined to act in conformity with that opinion, which he seemed to consider a correct one.

"On returning to the *Beaver* without the men, I perceived a general manifestation of dislike among the crew to go to sea with so many short of our complement; but there was no possibility of procuring others, and delay would be more likely to change the aspect of affairs for the worse than the better. I therefore called all hands aft; represented to them the easy and short voyage we had to perform; that the numbers now on board were an ample complement for any voyage on this coast; that I had engaged an extra number originally in order to make the greater despatch in lading the ship, but that, nevertheless, if they would go to work cheerfully, I would engage to divide among them the wages of the five men who had deserted, until I could ship others in their stead. This had the desired effect. They went with alacrity to the windlass, hove up the anchor, made sail, and at 4 P.M. I was once again on the broad ocean in uncontrolled command of the *Beaver*.

"More than two years had elapsed since the seizure of the ship at Talcahuana, and during that time I had experienced nothing but a continued series of vexations, altercations, and the most prolonged and aggravating state of suspense. The freedom from thraldom, therefore, which I now experienced, was at first difficult to believe, and many days passed before I possessed an entire consciousness of having regained the power of independent action."

On the fourth day they arrived at Pisco, where the governor, after examining the viceroy's license, gave him an hospitable reception. Here they were to take on board a quantity of brandy, which was a slow and difficult undertaking, as it was contained in jars of twenty gallons and was sent off in launches and had to be hoisted over the ship's sides in an open roadstead at the imminent risk of breaking, from the rolling of the ship. The knowledge possessed by the crew of the unusual value of every man, owing to their feeble number, and the impossibility of supplying the loss should any one desert, led them to presume upon attempting a measure which would have subverted all discipline and endangered the safety of ship and cargo. This was the bringing on board a jar of brandy to be held in their own possession. My father was on shore at the time, but Mr. Pinkham, seeing the man with it, very judiciously tried to persuade him to give it up, promising it should be dealt out to them in proper rations. This they would not submit to, and swore they would do as they pleased with their own liquor. Perceiving remonstrance to be in vain, Mr. Pinkham very properly knocked the jar out of the fellow's hands, which broke it and spilled all the brandy.

"The most abusive language then followed and the mutiny became general. In the evening I received a note by one of the shore boats, detailing these transactions and the continued insubordination of the crew. It was too late to go on board that evening, and I had consequently time to resolve in my mind the most prudent and judicious mode of proceeding. I was offered a file of soldiers, to take as many of the men on shore as I chose and have them whipped; but though this could easily be done, it would only tend to increase

the difficulty when we should be beyond the reach of such aid. It was obvious that, to secure any further services from these men, they must be subdued by the efforts of myself and officers alone, and cost what it might, I determined to try the issue, and convince them that there could be but one master to the *Beaver*. Accordingly, on going on board and finding my officers ready to second me (all work on board continuing to be suspended), we determined that seizing up the ringleader to the shrouds and giving him a good whipping before the whole crew would be the readiest and best way of settling the difficulty. But if the men made the resistance that was apprehended, the attempt might be attended with serious consequences.

"Having loaded our pistols and prepared the requisite seizings, I called the ringleader, by name, to come aft, which he readily obeyed, no doubt with the expectation of being supported by his comrades. I asked him how he had dared to speak to the officer of the ship in the insolent manner he had done? He replied that the officer had broken his jar of brandy, and he'd be damned if he or any one else should do any more work until it was made up to him. I then turned to the mates and told them to seize him up to the rigging, whereupon the crew, who had been watching us from the forecastle, began moving aft in a body. I, therefore, immediately took a pistol in each hand, and meeting them half-way, leisurely laid a rope across the deck, and threatened with instant death any man who should dare to cross it. This had the desired effect. No one had the temerity to try me. The fellow was whipped till he begged for mercy and promised never to behave amiss again; and, indeed, he was ever after an orderly, good man. With my pistols still in hand, I then went forward and peremptorily ordered the men to their duty on pain of like punishment to any one who refused. I allowed them no time for consultation, but calling them by name, ordered them immediately on various parts of ship's duty. Not one of them saw fit even to hesitate, and they were ever after as orderly a crew as I could desire.

"Having now passed a week at Pisco, and taken on board six hundred jars of brandy and wine, we sailed for Guanchaca, and thus demonstrated that this part of the coast was not in a state of blockade in the true and legitimate acceptance of that term."

At Guanchaca the question was put at final rest by an actual meeting with a Chilian brig of war, which sent a boat on board with a request that the captain of the *Beaver* would come on board with his papers.

After half an hour's conversation with Captain Spry (with whom he had become acquainted at Valparaiso), my father convinced him that it would be very unwise to molest him. He, therefore, endorsed his register, and sent him back to his ship with friendly wishes. From Guanchaca he proceeded to Malabrigo and thence to Pacasmayo, finding the merchants at every port anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity to freight goods to Callao. On the 19th of May, having taken on board a cargo exceeding thirteen thousand quintals, which brought the ship's chainwales almost even with the water, he sailed for Callao. Being anxious to learn the state of affairs before venturing too near, he looked in at Guacho, and, seeing an English brig lying there, sent a boat to obtain information, which returned with intelligence that the Chilian squadron had left the bay nearly a month previous, and there was no impediment to entering.

The arrival at Callao of so large a cargo of wheat and rice was an auspicious event for the people of Lima. Precisely three months had elapsed since his departure, and, by the successful accomplishment of the voyage, the fact was demonstrated that there was no cause to apprehend that the supply of breadstuffs would be cut off by a Chilian blockade. The earnings of the ship during this period exceeded $20,000, payable immediately on landing the cargo. The viceroy appeared now, for the

first time, to appreciate the great advantage derivable from neutral commerce. He gave my father a most cordial and flattering reception, complimented him upon the boldness manifested in disregarding Lord Cochrane's proclamation of blockade, and declared his readiness to give him a license to go to any part of the coast he pleased.

After so many years of adversity the turning-point seemed at last to have been reached, and surely if ever success was won by bull-dog tenacity of purpose and unflinching courage, both moral and physical, it was so in his case.

It is deliciously refreshing to read a letter from him which forms such a contrast to the gloomy tone which had so long pervaded his correspondence as the following:

"LIMA, *June* 22, 1819.

"At length, my dear wife, I have the delight of conveying to you the cheering intelligence that my affairs are prospering even beyond my expectations. The ebb, which has been setting so many years and so strong against me, seemed to have descended to its lowest point about this time last year, since which there has been a gradual flood, till my arrival from my voyage coastwise, when the number of favorable events which have been crowded into a small space leads me to be apprehensive that fortune really intends to yield to him who has courted her so long.

"Of the number of neutral vessels lying here at the time Lord Cochrane's proclamation was issued, mine is the only one which has dared bid defiance to it in pursuing the plan I had marked out before it was issued. I have accomplished it successfully, and by the great rise in the price of wheat shall realize an advantage for myself of about $10,000.

"I had no expectation that my adventure to Valparaiso would yield more than sufficient to pay my debts there; but, by very direct information, I have scarce a doubt it has yielded a profit of

$8000 or $10,000. I had $5000 specie on board the *Macedonian*, bound for China, at the time that all the money destined for that vessel was seized by Lord Cochrane. I expected mine had gone in the general sweep, but find that the evidence given of it being mine was so satisfactory that they declined taking it.

"These items, added to other operations of minor magnitude, give me a property of about $40,000, acquired since my first arrival in Lima. Add to this the most flattering reception from the viceroy, and assurance that he would grant me permission to go to any part of the coast I pleased—a permission which, from the little competition, must soon enable me to lade the ship with the produce of the country, and which, taken to Europe or the United States, will be equal to replacing the original capital, with the addition of premium and interest. I know not with whom I shall have to account for the voyage on my arrival, as Mr. Astor has abandoned to the underwriters; but, even if I should again be unfortunate, if they possess any generous feelings they cannot fail to acknowledge that there has been no want of perseverance and industry on my part. While I was on my passage from Pacasmayo to this port the frigate *Macedonian* had been here, and proceeded down the coast in search of me. We missed each other, and this I regret exceedingly, not so much from the expectation of any advantage her presence here would have produced, as from having failed in receiving those letters from home which the notoriety of her destination, not less than the port from whence she sailed, induces the belief were on board.

"During my various peregrinations I have never at any time been so long without hearing from you. I am glad this is not the case with you, as the frequent opportunities by which I have written must present you a letter every two or three months.

"With a view of realizing some property without delay, not less than the hope of affording you the means of gratifying every wish to be compassed by money, I have made arrangements for a large sum at Valparaiso, in addition to the profits on my adventure there, amounting together to between $30,000 and $40,000. This property I have ordered remitted either to Stephen Williams, of London, or to Samuel G. Perkins & Co., of Boston, whichever can be done most advantageously, to be held subject to the control of William or George Cleveland. I now write George on the subject; and, af-

ter he has paid sums to the amount of about $13,000, I desired him to place the remainder at your disposal. You will therefore, my dear wife, probably have the control of about $25,000. With the whole of this money, believe me, you can do nothing that can displease me. If W., or G., or M., or H., or S. want it, give it, or any portion of it, to them if you think proper. If you choose to spend it in the embellishment of the estate, do so. Indeed, my dear, if you should throw it away, only let me know the doing so has afforded you pleasure, and I will approve of the act. I have no other wish than to express to you in intelligible terms that property is only valuable to me in proportion as it contributes to your happiness.

"I shall sail again to-morrow for Pisco, there to lade with brandy for the port I was at last, and touching here on my way down, then to return with a cargo of wheat and rice. I hope to perform this voyage in less than three months, and with a profit of $40,000 for the ship and $10,000 for myself.

"I hope to meet you before the expiration of the year 1820, but whether I shall return by way of China or from hence to Europe and the United States, is a matter of great uncertainty.

"I could almost immediately return with a decent competency, and with a prospect of giving satisfaction to the owners of the ship; but at the present moment everything concurs to give me almost the monopoly of the trade of this coast—to present so brilliant a prospect that not to take advantage of it, to give over the chase when fortune is so near within my grasp, would be an evidence of imbecility so glaring, a want of enterprise so inconsistent with my character, that I am confident, although the object should be alone that of meeting you, you could not fail to experience mortification from it.

"I am now on the point of sailing, and, from the careless manner in which this letter is written, you will perceive I am hurried. Indeed, to perform the duties of master and supercargo of such a ship as the *Beaver*, without even a clerk, requires great industry on a common voyage, but much more when the property is turned so often. My various speculations on my private account have given me so much more property than I can employ in my privilege in the ship that for some time I have had a considerable sum lying by. If I had had any intelligent, trusty young man with me I could have

put him in the way of making his fortune and adding greatly to mine.

"I fully intended to have written to the dear boys, but, having neglected to do it till there is no longer time, I will prepare a letter for them, and likewise complete for you the narrative of the marvellous adventures of R. J. C., already begun, and send them both by the first good opportunity.

"Of the political state of this country, it differs very little from what it was at this time last year. The republicans have the ascendency at sea, but, as their opponents have laid by all their shipping, there is no chance of making prizes; consequently the maintenance of their ships must come from themselves, and their resources are not competent to it for any length of time. How the business will end time only can determine, but the method taken by the English commanders of the Chilian ships to make converts to republicanism, that of first stripping them of their property, seems to have produced a contrary effect. A want of activity, a want of enterprise, a sluggishness in forming plans and an eternity in executing them, prove that these people are the legitimate descendants of those of whom, more than two centuries past, the other Europeans used to say, 'Let death come from Spain,' implying thereby that it would be so long in coming that nothing need be apprehended from it.

"Adieu, my dear wife. May death neither come from Spain nor any other quarter till we have had one more embrace. My love to the boys and all the family.

"Yours, as ever, most affectionately, RICHARD."

His next operation was to charter the ship for a four-months' voyage on the coast, at $10,000 per month. This voyage—to Huasco and Pacasmayo, and thence to Valparaiso and back to Callao—was successfully performed, although he was brought to on the way to Valparaiso by a Chilian 64-gun ship, bearing the flag of Admiral Blanco, who, on being satisfied that the ship had been chartered and laden on English account, allowed him to go on without molestation.

The following letter from Valparaiso evinces that he appreciated the importance of taking the tide in his affairs at the flood, and was making the most of his opportunities:

"VALPARAISO, *January* 19, 1820.

"I shall sail from here to-morrow for Callao with a full cargo of wheat for account of the charterer of the ship. After unlading my ship and settling my affairs it is most probable I shall proceed to Guayaquil, and lade the ship with cocoa for Europe or the United States, and determine which at Rio Janeiro, where I shall stop on my way. While fortune seems propitious I am giving her such an opportunity of evincing her favors as appears to astonish the natives. In addition to attending to the duties of my own ship I have purchased the ship *Ocean*, of three hundred and sixty-five tons, and despatched her with a cargo of wheat for Callao; one half of the fine ship *Zephyr*, of three hundred and sixty tons, and have chartered the Swedish ship *Drottingen*, of five hundred tons, all loaded with wheat for my private account. My expectation of emolument is not so much from profit on the wheat as from the advantageous employment of the ships; and should the demand for them at Lima be equal to what it was when I left there, I shall realize a handsome fortune. Indeed, if I were as sanguine as I was in my younger days, I should say it was certain; but, alas! I have been too severely taught the uncertainty of everything mundane not to be prepared for disappointment. . . .

"The Chilian navy is now entirely commanded and officered by English adventurers, men of desperate fortunes, who, under the mask of giving freedom to this country, are in pursuit of their own fortunes, and regardless of means of their attainment. If it were not that we have a frigate in this neighborhood, no American vessel could navigate here with safety."

On his return to Callao, having successfully accomplished the object for which the ship was chartered, he found he had the control of so large an amount of property for account of the owners of the *Beaver*, besides the handsome fortune he had accumulated for

himself, that he felt justified in making immediate preparations for returning home. Indeed, the condition of the ship indicated but too clearly that she would, ere long, be incapable of making the passage. He therefore contracted for a cargo of cocoa, to be taken on board at Guayaquil, and busied himself with settling his affairs and making arrangements for the employment of the other ships in his service.

On the 12th of March he sailed for Guayaquil, and on the 10th of April writes to his wife from that place as follows:

"GUAYAQUIL, *April* 10, 1820.

"I came to this place with the expectation of lading with cocoa for the United States, for which purpose I had contracted with a merchant of Lima, to be delivered to me here, but am disappointed. A sudden and unexpected demand has put it out of the power of the agent here to fulfil the contract, and with about two thirds of a cargo I am on the point of returning to Callao, in hopes of making up the remainder there. If I succeed I may be with you as soon as you receive this; but whether I am or not, I ought to make you acquainted with the state of my affairs.

"The ship *Drottingen*, by which I send this *via* Europe, is loaded with cocoa, entirely on my account—a cargo which cost upwards of $80,000—of which I risk only one half, the other half being on *respondentia*. Her supercargo, Mr. Coit, will forward this to you from Europe.

"I am proprietor of one half the fine ship *Zephyr*, of Providence, for which I gave $15,000. This ship is now engaged in a profitable freighting business on the coast of Peru. The proceeds of these freights will be deposited in safe hands in Lima, so that there will be nothing but the ship at risk till the closing of the voyage *via* China, Europe, or the United States.

"I am likewise owner of one half the ship *Ocean*, of three hundred and sixty-five tons, which cost me $7500. This ship had a freight of $16,000, engaged from hence to Callao, but the governor

here has thought proper to throw obstacles in the way of her proceeding, and she must therefore remain here till I can get an order from the viceroy for her release. She will be advantageously employed in freighting on this coast, and is commanded by my former mate, Mr. Pinkham.

"I have likewise an interest of $15,000 in the voyage of the brig *Macedonian*, Captain E. Smith, to China and back to Callao. As this cargo will be introduced into Lima on very favorable terms, the prospect is very flattering. She is expected back in three or four months. In the *Beaver* I shall have on board for my own account about eight tons of cocoa and eight or ten thousand dollars in specie.

"Thus, my dear wife, you will perceive that if I have done well for my owners I have not done less for myself, and if I arrive safe it may fairly be presumed there will be no necessity for navigating more. May the joyful day of our meeting soon arrive, when there will be no alloy of anticipated separation."

Returning to Callao, it was found necessary to discharge part of the cargo, in order to recalk the ship before proceeding to sea. This being accomplished, and the ship ready for sea, he sailed for Rio Janeiro on the evening of March 11, 1820.

CHAPTER XIII.

1820.

Recapitulation of the Occurrences of Three Years.—Letter from the Underwriters, and His Reply.—Home Again.—Disgraceful Conduct of the National Insurance Company.

THREE years had now elapsed since his departure from New York, and in all that time he had received no tidings from his family. A packet of letters had been sent to him by the frigate *Macedonian*, but the chaplain who had it in charge had died on the passage, the package was not left at any port where he might have found it, and as the frigate failed to fall in with him the letters only reached him several months after his return home.

A recapitulation of the leading events in his experience since the seizure of his ship may here be appropriately introduced.

After all the property intrusted to his charge had been taken from him and he had suffered all the anguish incident to such a situation, aggravated by the efforts of his captors to make his situation so uncomfortable as to force him to abandon the attempt to recover it, he had finally succeeded by persistent effort in recovering the ship and a remnant of the cargo. Within a twelvemonth of the time of her restoration he had employed her so advantageously as to have paid all the expenses of repairing, revictualling, and remanning her,

and had shipped on board of her a cargo of cocoa for New York, nearly or quite equal in value to the original capital, besides specie more than enough to defray all the expenses of the ship up to the time of her arrival in New York; and, in addition, a clear and legitimate claim on the Spanish government for the original amount of cargo and damages. All this for the sole account of the owners of the *Beaver*.

For himself—having before the restoration of the ship begun a speculation at Valparaiso which laid the foundation of further operations—he had succeeded in acquiring such a property as the most successful accomplishment of his original plans would not have produced.

To have thus turned defeat and disaster into victory, and the achievement of a greater success than was originally anticipated for the voyage, was surely a sufficient cause for self-gratulation and the anticipation of a most gratifying reception from the owners, whose interests he had thus carefully guarded.

It was, therefore, with no small degree of surprise when, on the point of sailing, that he received from the underwriters a *peremptory order* to return immediately home with the ship. They acknowledged at the same time the receipt of his letter of August previous, informing them that the ship was earning $10,000 per month, and as she would hardly be worth that sum herself in New York, the inference was unavoidable that they felt doubtful of his honesty. The revulsion of feeling excited by this implication is manifested in the following letter, which he wrote in reply, and sent up by the pilot-boat on arriving in New York, before going on shore himself.

"LIMA, *June* 8, 1820.

"TO THE OWNERS OF THE SHIP 'BEAVER':

"*Gentlemen*,—When on the point of leaving this for New York I received (*via* Panama) your letter of January 20, ultimo, in which is implied apprehensions relative to your property under my charge which surprise and mortify me. Your anxiety to bring this 'long-pending concern to a close,' however great, cannot surpass mine. Indeed, gentlemen, if the whole amount of property I have acquired for you was to be the recompense of an additional month's absence from my family, to that which I have considered limited by duty, I should hold such fortune too dearly purchased by such sacrifice.

"From the information I possessed of the little value of ships in New York I did not suppose the *Beaver* would sell for more than enough to defray the expense of delivering her there, and concluded that if I would consent to risk the loss of my time in the business of freighting, the owners of the *Beaver* could not fail to consent to risk a ship which circumstances rendered of so little value.

"The peremptory *order* conveyed in your letter above-named is not less evidence of erroneous judgment on my part than of excessive alarm for the safety of the property on yours. My various letters by the *China* and *Drottingen*, from Guayaquil, and by the *Tyne*, from this place, each enclosing a bill of lading of the cargo shipped on board the *Beaver* for your account, and bound for New York, will afford you convincing evidence of my having anticipated your wishes, or rather *orders*, for closing this long-pending concern. They will likewise show you that, in the space of twelve months from my first sailing from Callao, I had created a capital sufficient to lade the *Beaver* with a cargo whose value in Europe will exceed $100,000, besides defraying all the expenses of the ship for the time. In not having accomplished this before your patience was exhausted I hope forgiveness, and expect it not less from the consciousness of having acted with a view to your approbation than of my belief of your acceding to the axiom that 'to err, is human; to forgive, divine.'

"I have on board for your account 840,456 pounds of cocoa, besides which there will be a balance in your favor of five or six thousand dollars, which I shall bring in specie.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen, with all the respect due from

one who is subject to orders to those from whom such orders emanate, Your most obedient," etc.

To appreciate fully the force of the sting which had elicited such a response as the above it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the voyage from the outset was of his own planning, and its management had been of necessity left to his own discretion. After the complete destruction of all the hopes, anticipations, and intentions which had originally been formed or indulged in regard to its results by the seizure of the ship at Talcahuana, it was still less than before in the power of the owners to give him any directions or even advice.

His subsequent management could not have been conducted with greater zeal, pertinacity, or courage, had he been the only one interested in the retrieval of the property, and to the persistent urging of his demand upon the authorities at Talcahuana and Lima the final reversal of the decree and restoration of the property was due. The ability and independence he had exhibited throughout the whole course of the affair afforded the best possible evidence of the wisdom originally exhibited in intrusting it to him, and were such as could not have been reasonably expected, and certainly would rarely have been found, in one who was merely acting under orders. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive a more painful position, to a sensitive man, than that in which he was placed by receipt of such an order at the moment when his heart was glowing with the anticipation of the well-earned approbation of those for whose interests he had labored so hard and suffered so much. It must

be borne in mind that the officers of the National Insurance Company, to whom the ship had been abandoned, were strangers to my father, having no other than a pecuniary interest in the result of the enterprise.

To Mr. Astor he wrote a very long letter, accompanied with a clear and exact account of all his transactions, in which he says:

"I cannot believe that you have at any time entertained a doubt of my ever being actuated in this business by other than the most honorable motives, but I am aware that in a voyage involved in so much intricacy as this, so much at variance with the original instructions, and so peculiarly marked by vicissitude of bad and good fortune some elucidation would necessarily be required and, therefore, lest accident should prevent a verbal explanation, I have thought proper (not less for my own satisfaction than for yours) to make the following statement"

This statement is a summary of all that he had accomplished and a rendition of the award of the tribunal of appeal establishing the claim on the government of Spain for the "full amount of damage arising from loss of property, loss of time, and loss arising from the destruction of one of the most flattering enterprises ever undertaken from the United States.

"As our claim for these losses amounts to $408,766, as its correctness is indisputable, and, therefore, must be paid; as I shall be not less instrumental in the recovery of the property by the circumstance of placing my opponents in the wrong, than in its augumentation by placing it where its value was so much enhanced, there can exist no doubt of my being entitled to the same commission on the amount recovered that I should have received if I had prosecuted the voyage without interruption."

The following letter to my mother requires no explanation:

"SHIP 'BEAVER' (The Highlands of Neversink in sight),
"*October* 5, 1820.

"*My Dear Wife,*—To-morrow I shall probably be in New York, once more in the land of freedom, and I hope to bid farewell—a long farewell—to the toils of the ocean. In conformity with my custom and with that method and consistency of which I know you to be an advocate, I prepare a letter to go to the post-office with the ship's letters, that not a moment may be lost in advising you of my arrival.

* * * * * * *

"Our passage round Cape Horn was attended with nothing extraordinary or terrific. The absence of the sun rendered it extremely gloomy, and as we happened to be there just at the change of the moon the nights were very dark and tedious. We used to breakfast by candle-light at half-past eight, and to see the sun set at half-past three.

"We, however, made a very tolerable passage for a loaded ship, arriving at the beautiful port of Rio Janeiro on the 14th of August. More than three years had now elapsed since leaving home, and during that extended period I had not received a line from my family or from any one who could give me any account of them. My first step, therefore, was to call on the American houses to see if they had not letters for me, but, alas! I found none from my family, nor was there one among the masters or consignees who could give me any account of them. You will, therefore, naturally imagine, my dear, that my mind was filled with the most gloomy forebodings, and that I accounted for not receiving letters by the repugnance arising from conveying disastrous intelligence.

"With such discouraging impressions, I was busily engaged in preparing to bend my course to that country where I once had a home—the existence of which now seemed extremely doubtful—when, two days before my departure, the *Fanny* arrived from New York and brought me a letter from my dear wife, one from Lucy, and one from George, all dated so recently as June—only about seventy days before. As the fond mother with distracted anxiety

watches for the restoration of suspended animation in a beloved child, and is incapable of expressing her joy on the appearance of returning life, so was the transition in the mind of your husband, from the most deep-toned anxiety to ease, joy, and tranquillity of mind, not less intense or less capable of being expressed.

* * * * * * *

"I shall meet you more satisfied with myself than I have ever been before. I doubt whether my voyage has any parallel in the annals of navigation. It presents not the brilliancy of victory, but it is a retreat which ought to be equally creditable to the ability of the commander. Yet I am not without apprehensions that the owners will consider my charges indicative of my setting too high a value upon my services, and may see fit to dispute them. It is likewise doubtful if they are not jealous of what I have done for myself and may wish to share in it, in which case they will discover that the man who has so perseveringly and successfully defended *their* property, will not allow any infringement on *his own*. I must necessarily be detained two or three days in New York before I can set out for home, and it is very doubtful whether the owners will be disposed to grant me any indulgence, but may insist on my remaining until the ship is unloaded. In this case I shall not shrink from the dictates of imperious duty. The fact is, I have written them two very sharp letters on the subject of the terms in which they conveyed to me the orders for my return, and it is uncertain how they will receive them.

"I intend to despatch immediately one or two ships for Lima, either from New York, Providence, or Boston. Perhaps William would like to take charge of an expedition to that quarter of the world. I suggest it, that he may have time to think of it. If there was a certainty that all the property I have afloat would be returned in safety there would be enough for both of us, but the embarrassments we have witnessed should teach us that we ought not to allow a favorable opportunity to pass till we possess something more stable and permanent.

"I am now in imagination at Lancaster with my wife, my children, brothers, sisters, and friends, and, while seated at the parlor window, alternately glancing at the group within and the beautiful autumnal scenery without, what associations, what recollections will not be roused by hearing from your piano the notes of 'Ella Rosen-

berg,' 'Henry's Cottage Maid,' 'The Flowers of the Forest,' etc.? Alas! my dear wife, can those who know care, danger, and toil only by name, and whom fortune has always nursed in the lap of ease, form any idea of the luxurious enjoyments which are crowded into short spaces on such occasions?

"But enough of paper conversations. This, I hope, closes our epistolary correspondence, inasmuch as I flatter myself with not being again separated from you."

The feelings of doubt and anxiety with regard to the reception he would meet, in making his first call upon the gentlemen at the insurance office, were speedily dispelled and in the most agreeable manner. On being introduced to the president, Fred. De Peyster, Esq., he rose to meet him with both hands extended, and his countenance beaming with the kindest expressions, as if anxious only to do away with all apprehension of want of sympathy or failure to recognize the value of his services.

With a voice full of emotion he acknowledged the receipt of his letter, and expressed his full appreciation and respect for the feelings it betrayed. He thanked him for what he had done for the company, and, although not authorized to speak definitely of pecuniary remuneration, assured him it would be awarded to him. The sincerity with which my father assured him, in reply, of the gratification afforded him by this friendly reception will not be doubted, and the sense of relief he experienced was soon greatly enhanced by the congratulations he received from leading members of the mercantile community—strangers as well as friends—who complimented him upon the success he had achieved. Several of the stockholders of the insurance company expressed their sense of the obligation they were under to

him, and an old and highly respected merchant,* who had retired from business with an ample fortune, said to him, after the exchange of customary salutations, "You have done well for the office. You have raised the value of its stock ten per cent. They cannot give you less than $10,000."

His mind being relieved by such abundant evidence of appreciation of his services, he took advantage of the time while the ship was unloading to spend a week with his family in Lancaster, Mass.

On his return he learned that objection was made to his charge of ten per cent. on the net proceeds of freights, which he considered to be no more than a just proportion for the extra services rendered; since, independently of obtaining the restoration of the ship in the manner related, he had procured the freights and negotiated all the business without the aid of a broker. And when sometimes compelled to employ an agent to collect the amount rather than detain the ship, the commission paid for such services was not charged to account of the owners. Besides, had the graduation of his emoluments been made with any reference to what they would have been but for the seizure, they would have much exceeded the ten per cent. charge.

These points were urged upon the gentlemen interested, but were of no avail. Mr. Astor being in Europe, his agent, had he been disposed to act liberally, would hardly have dared to be less exacting than the underwriters, and hence recourse was had to arbitration, the result of which was a deduction of two and a half per cent. on his charge.

* Benjamin Bailey, Esq.

With this decision he felt that he had abundant cause for dissatisfaction. But trusting to the repeated (though unofficial) assurances of President De Peyster, of pecuniary remuneration, he refrained from manifesting it, and, having submitted to the decision of the arbitrators, he left the city for his home, not doubting that the promised remuneration would be awarded him.

A month passed, however, without a line from the office of the National Insurance Company, and so a second month, when he could no longer doubt that no further action on their part was intended. Indignant at such treatment, and mortified at being thus duped, he determined, at least, to give expression to the feelings excited by their conduct.

Accordingly, under date of Lancaster, December 22, 1820, he addressed a letter to the president of the National Insurance Company, in which he referred to his communication of the 5th of October previous, enumerating the unusual services he had rendered the company, in the recovery and successful employment of the *Beaver*, and further remarked that, if he had condescended to make invidious comparisons, he could have proved that what they considered to be an extra commission bore no proportion to the extra earnings of the *Beaver* over every other vessel then on the Peruvian coast, and this less from a concurrence of favorable circumstances than from his superior management.

He reminded him of his promise of remuneration, and of its being repeated at a subsequent interview; which promise he was now forced to believe was made with the express design of throwing him off his guard, in or-

der the better to deceive him; and that the success attending it had been doubtless gratifying to all who shared the two and a half per cent. thus saved to the company. The letter closed with the remark that,

"Had I conducted your business with as little regard to the observance of the rule of 'doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us' as has been observed in this instance towards me, the result of the *Beaver's* voyage would have been very different from what it is."

To this letter he never received a reply.

It is only proper to add the following extract from my father's narrative:

"It would be doing injustice to the venerable and respectable president of the company not to acknowledge that, although of necessity he was the person to be officially addressed, I believe him to have been incapable of a mean or dishonorable act, and that when he made the promise alluded to he sincerely believed the directors would confirm it, as he knew they ought. Two of the directors expressed to me their disapproval of the curtailment of my commission, and a third said to me that he felt shame at being one of an association capable of such dishonorable conduct. But there was one individual among the directors whose great wealth gave him a preponderating influence in the affairs of the office. The greater deference paid to his opinions was very perceptible, and it is probable that the president, taking it for granted that a handsome compensation could not honorably be withheld, had the temerity to assure me of it before consulting with him, and thus caused the defeat of his intention."

More than sixty years have passed since the occurrence of the above transactions, and all the parties to it have long since departed from their earthly labors.

At this distance of time there can be no impropriety in giving the names of the individuals referred to.

The influential director by whom the president was overruled was the Honorable Philip Hone, and the one who expressed his sense of shame at the action of the company was Gardner Howland, Esq.

As an interesting episode, and as exhibiting a phase of my father's character of which there is no hint in his narrative, I may here appropriately introduce an extract from one of his letters to my mother, written from New York under date of December 21, 1821, just one year after the time of the occurrences just narrated.

Mr. Astor had then returned from Europe, and my father's business was with him, but, as will be seen, he postponed the interview in order to attend the ordination of the first Unitarian minister in New York, an event the importance of which (whether for good or evil) in the minds of the religious world at that day few now living can recall, and no one can estimate by any criterion now in existence.

"NEW YORK, *December* 21, 1821.

"I wrote you a hasty line on the morning of my arrival here, and then mentioned to you that it was the day on which Mr. Ware was to be ordained, but doubted whether I should attend. As the day was rainy, however, I concluded the house would not be crowded; there was no immediate necessity of seeing Mr. Astor, and the ordination of the first Unitarian minister in New York might prove an epoch in the history of the Church, the retrospect of which (when error and bigotry shall be abolished by the light of reason and truth, of which this may be considered the dawn) will be viewed with great satisfaction and complacency, particularly by those who have maintained it in spite of popular clamor. These considerations determined me to attend the ordination, where I was exceedingly gratified in witnessing the most solemn, sublime, and affecting services, such as were strikingly calculated to contrast the nothingness and

imbecility of earthly pursuits with those profoundly grand and sublime ones which have God and Eternity for their object. The house, though small, was not more than two thirds filled. This was partly owing to the weather, but probably more to the apprehension of being contaminated. Alas! they are ignorant of what they have lost. The services were opened by an anthem on a well-toned organ, accompanied by a select choir, which was very good. The introductory prayer by Mr. Taylor was succeeded by a hymn from the society's collection. The sermon by Dr. Ware, from Acts xxviii. 22, was everything that would be expected from that distinguished scholar, evincing a depth of erudition, a profundity of thought, an independence of mind, and a consciousness of being guided alone by truth and reason, that carried persuasion and conviction along with it. Having progressed nearly through his sermon, he then addressed his son (the candidate) in a style so solemn and pathetic as exceedingly to affect the audience, and closed with recommending him to his people. The ordaining prayer by Dr. Harris was very well, followed by a hymn said to have been composed by Mr. Pierpoint. The charge by Dr. Bancroft was very good, but its excellence was diminished by bad delivery. The right hand of fellowship by the brother of the candidate was excellent, and not less affecting than the address from the father; indeed, the speaker himself was so far overcome that he proceeded with difficulty, and the audience sympathized with him. A concluding prayer by Mr. Pierpoint, and a hymn to the tune of 'Old Hundred' (in which I heartily joined) closed the interesting services. This event has, as yet, been noticed by no other paper in the city than the *Evening Post.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

1821–1860.

Failure to Secure the Proceeds of his Adventures.—Pursuit of Arizmendi to Hamburg and subsequently to Madrid.—Mr. Shaler Appointed Consul at Havana.—My Father Goes with him as Vice-Consul.—Death of Mr. Shaler.—Obtains an Office in Boston Custom-House.—Takes up his Residence with me, and Dies in my House at the Age of Eighty-seven.

THE voyage just narrated, in the *Beaver*, was the last of a series of voyages to most parts of the habitable globe, during a period of twenty-four years, in various kinds of craft, from the boat of twenty-five tons to the Indiaman of a thousand tons, and, as will have been seen, on the most laborious and hazardous enterprises.

A remarkable fact, which is well worthy of notice, is that during that long period, some portion of which was passed in the most sickly climates of the globe, my father never lost but three men of his crew—two by fever, after leaving Batavia, and one by a fall from the masthead. Although he was repeatedly at sea for five months on a single passage, he was never under the necessity of putting his men on allowance of provisions or water; and to this circumstance, combined with guarding them from unnecessary fatigue and exposure, he was probably indebted for the happiness of escaping, not only that terrible scourge to seamen on long voyages, the scurvy, but almost all other kinds of sickness.

Some of his experiences subsequent to the voyage in the *Beaver* are so connected with it that the story would be incomplete if they were omitted, and I therefore give his own account of them in the following extract from his published narrative:

"In less than a year after my return to New York in the *Beaver* I was destined again to see swept off the greater part of my hard earnings. A most unfortunate enterprise to Gibraltar;* incompetent, selfish, and careless agents; and, more than either, a most shameful abuse of the confidence I had placed in the commercial house at Lima, with which I had been so long doing business (Abadia & Arizmendi), were the causes of these misfortunes.

"Soon after these reverses became known to my friends in Boston I met my highly esteemed friend, George Cabot, who, in his happy manner, remarked to me: 'You have cut a great deal of hay, but you have got it in very badly.'

"Alas! I felt most sensibly that it was too true.

"The information of the revolution in Peru, of the consequent confusion in the commerce of Lima, of the breaking-up of the house of Abadia & Arizmendi, and of the escape of the latter with a large amount in silver in an American brig for Manilla, was received here not many months after my arrival.

"During the vice-regal government no stranger of respectability ever visited Lima without enjoying the hospitality of Don Pedro Abadia. He was eminently hospitable, urbane, and friendly; but although of superior education and extensive intercourse with mankind, he was bigoted and priest-ridden. His talents and education and the extraneous circumstances of his being agent at Lima of the Philippine Company, and of his brother's being one of the cabinet of King Ferdinand, all combined to give him an influence with the viceroy and cabildo unsurpassed by any other individual in the kingdom. This influence was often exerted for my advantage, or rather for that of the owners of the *Beaver*, which advantage was reciprocal, as it enabled me to throw into the hands of his house

* This refers to the voyage of the ship *Drottingen*, which he had despatched for Gibraltar from Guayaquil.

many valuable consignments. It was Abadia who gave to the house the character of respectability it possessed, and this was such as to inspire a degree of confidence which secured to it almost exclusively the foreign business of the place.

"Don Jose de Arizmendi was the active man of the house—a man who possessed the capacity of accomplishing much and varied business with a degree of despatch and skill very rarely seen among his countrymen. While present with him he would conduct the business with which he was charged on fair, honorable, and liberal principles. By this semblance of honesty I was deceived, and was induced to confide in the house to an extent which I discovered, when too late, was entirely unmerited, and which was attended with ruinous consequences.

"It was late in my transactions with the house before I learned the peculiarity of the connection of the partners. Abadia's relation to the Philippine Company did not admit of his engaging in a private mercantile house; hence, while a sharer in its advantages, he was exempt from its responsibilities; and hence all the accounts and business documents were signed exclusively by Arizmendi. Had these facts been known, as they should have been, it would have tended greatly to diminish the general confidence in the house.

"Late in the summer of 1823 mention was made in one of the Boston papers of the arrival of Señor Arizmendi at Hamburg, in the *Roscoe*, of Salem, freighted with a rich cargo for his account from Manilla. As I had no doubt that this was my quondam friend, I flattered myself that by starting immediately I might reach Hamburg before he left. Accordingly, in forty-eight hours after receiving the information I was on my way to New York; and in thirty days more I arrived at Hamburg *via* Liverpool, London, Harwich, and Cuxhaven. But I had the mortification to find that my labor was in vain.

"Arizmendi had landed at Teneriffe, and the cargo of the *Roscoe*, yet unsold, was so well covered in the name of a Señor Zavaleta, a former clerk of Arizmendi, who swore the property belonged exclusively to himself, that it could not be touched.

"After passing four days at Hamburg, and, with the aid of one of the most intelligent merchants of that city, being unable to effect anything, I set out on my return by the same route I had come.

Fortunately I arrived at Liverpool just as the packet I came in was hauling out of dock on her return, and, embarking, I arrived at New York on the seventy-third day after leaving there.

"The following year (1824) I learned that Señor Abadia had arrived at St. Thomas, and immediately wrote him on the subject of my claim upon his house. The following copy of my letter will best explain the whole matter:

"LANCASTER, MASS., *September* 21, 1824.

"DON PEDRO ABADIA:

"*Dear Sir*,—By a letter from our mutual friend, Mr. C——, I learn that after many perils and some pecuniary embarrassment you have arrived safe at St. Thomas. On this event permit me to offer you my most hearty congratulations. It was reported last year that you had arrived at Porto Rico, and knowing that you possessed a coffee plantation there I thought this very probable, and directed several letters to you there, some one of which you may have received. These letters were written with the hope of inducing you to use some effort or point out some means by which the confidence I placed in the honor and integrity of your house should not be productive of my ruin. Among various other items, you must be aware that a sum of $15,000, charged me in account, as shipped for me on board the *Macedonian*, and for which I hold duplicate acknowledgments of Arizmendi, was never shipped. I will not attempt to describe my astonishment, when, after a great lapse of time, I received letters from Captain Smith informing me that I had been deceived, and that no property had been shipped with him, either for my account or that of your house. Independent of other sums, this amount, with five years' interest, will make an aggregate of upwards of $20,000, as one item now due me from your house. Consider, my dear sir, that this is the fruit of very hard labor in the most toilsome profession, and that on the possession or loss of it is dependent a life of ease and comfort with my family, or protracted absence, care, and toil for the rest of my life.

"You informed Mr. C—— that Arizmendi saved about $300,000. I heard two years since of his arrival at Manilla with a large property; that last year he had there chartered the brig *Roscoe*, and with this property had arrived at Hamburg. In forty-eight hours after receiving this information I was on my way to Liverpool, where I

arrived early in October, and proceeded immediately to London, and caused inquiries to be made of the Spanish houses there if they knew anything of Arizmendi. They referred me to the London *Times*, of October 7 (only two days before my arrival), in which appeared the advertisement which I send to Mr. C——, to be forwarded to you. This advertisement was sufficient to account for Arizmendi's not venturing up channel to accompany his property to Hamburg. I therefore proceeded to Hamburg, where I found an amount of sixty or seventy thousand dollars of the cargo of the *Roscoe* in possession of a Mr. Zavaleta, in whose name it had been shipped at Manilla, who had accompanied it, and who solemnly swore it belonged to him. Arizmendi had been landed at Teneriffe. I had then, and have now, no doubt that this property belonged to Arizmendi; but, unfortunately, I could produce no proof of it, and therefore my efforts were of no avail. I wrote to a house at Teneriffe, and received for answer that Arizmendi remained there only two or three days, and then embarked for the Continent. This is the last I have heard of his movements. He told Zavaleta he should assume some other name. In this case I do not see how you can discover where he is or how he can learn that you are at St. Thomas.

"I presume from the tenor of your letter to Mr. C—— that you have no amount of property with you, and that not less on your own account than from a desire which I believe you to possess to do justice to your creditors, you will leave no effort untried to discover the retreat of Arizmendi, and to get that property from him, which, while withheld from the creditors of the house, will, however undeserved, be considered not less dishonorable to the name and character of Abadia than to that of Arizmendi. If there should be any such chance for the recovery of the property as would justify the expense of my meeting you at St. Thomas and there taking your directions and power to settle with Arizmendi in Europe, I would not hesitate to embark on such an expedition; indeed, I would even proceed to Lima, if you had any property remaining there which there was a fair chance of recovering."

"Whether this letter was ever received by Abadia I have not been informed. Scarcely two months after writing it I received information which could be depended on that Arizmendi was at his pater-

nal residence at Zarauz, in Guipuscoa. I had no hesitation, therefore, in embarking in December, at New York, in a brig bound for Bordeaux. Arriving there in January, 1825, I proceeded *via* Bayonne Passage and Yrun to St. Sebastian. From thence a messenger was sent to Zarauz, who soon returned with information that Arizmendi was at Madrid, and with the name of the street where he resided. Taking the diligence, I had the good-fortune to reach Madrid without being robbed.

"The next day I succeeded, not without much difficulty, in finding the person of whom I had so long been in pursuit, and was actually once more in his presence. Had an apparition appeared to him he could not have exhibited greater evidence of astonishment and dismay; nor was it until the expiration of some minutes that he was able to converse rationally. Unfortunately it required but little conversation to ascertain that my efforts would prove to be unavailing and that I could recover nothing. He had succeeded in obtaining what in Spanish law is termed a '*morotoria*,' which is a security against molestation of person or property by creditors for a certain period. His was for four years. He begged me not to press my demand, declared that he had the control of no property, and the wretchedly mean, dirty, and obscure lodgings he occupied would have sufficed to confirm the truth of such assertion if made by any but a very cunning man. But I had no faith in it, and therefore did not desist from the pursuit until satisfied by repeated conversations with him, and the best advice I could procure during a residence of a fortnight in Madrid, that there existed not a hope of obtaining anything. As some alleviation to my disappointment, so far as it tended to keep up hope, Arizmendi gave me a power of attorney for the recovery of a large amount of property alleged to be due him from sundry merchants in the United States. From a cursory examination of these claims I was led to believe that a considerable sum might be recovered, and I therefore flattered myself that there existed some chance of indemnification for my trouble and perseverance.

"Burying my disappointment in the oblivion which screened such a multitude of its predecessors, I passed the time very agreeably in Madrid in visiting the numerous objects of interest with which that city abounds.

"The *ci-devant* Viceroy of Peru, Don Joaquin de la Pezuela, hear-

ing of my being in the city, sent a messenger to me with an invitation to his house, where he received me with the cordiality of an old friend. He inquired how my various mercantile operations had resulted, and evinced an interest in my affairs which was as pleasing as it was unexpected. His inquiries for Captain Biddle and his expressions of friendship for him were made with an earnestness of manner which left no doubt of the esteem and regard he cherished for that distinguished officer. To the hospitality of our worthy minister, Mr. Nelson, and to that of the family of Mr. Rich, I was indebted for some of the most agreeable social hours I passed at Madrid.

"Taking leave of my kind friends in Madrid, I returned to Bordeaux, and learning, on arriving there, that no opportunity for the United States would offer for some weeks, I took the diligence for Paris, where, after passing a week, I proceeded to Havre, and took passage in the *Edward Quesnel* for New York, and arrived there in April, 1825.

"The agency for the collection of another's debts is an unacceptable service, and especially so when they are of a description susceptible of controversy; but in this instance there existed more than the usual inducement, for I hoped thus to cancel the debt due me. Upwards of $100,000 were claimed of a Boston merchant,* the justice of which he denied, and refused to pay any part of it. A demand on a merchant of Baltimore for a much less amount was equally unsuccessful. The only debt acknowledged by the signature of the debtor was that of an old and intimate friend,† who could ill spare the money, and from whom it was very painful to me to exact it; but forbearance would have been a dereliction of duty, and would have been no otherwise serviceable to him than to defer the time of payment. Accordingly I recovered from him an amount about equal to one fourth of that due me from Arizmendi.

"When convinced that nothing more could be recovered under the power of attorney, I wrote to Arizmendi under his assumed name of Don Fausto Corral, as agreed on, to this effect, assuring him of my conviction that he would never obtain anything through the intermediation of an agent, and that the only course which presented any prospect of success was to come to this country and prosecute

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* John Ellery. † Samuel Curson.

the business in person. This, however, I did not believe he would do on account of the large demands against his house which were held here.

"Nearly two years elapsed after writing this letter, during which I heard nothing from or of him, when, suddenly and without any previous intimation to any one, he made his appearance in Boston, accompanied by a nephew, who, like himself, spoke no other than the Spanish language. They were in very obscure and ordinary lodgings, kept by a foreigner, which circumstance, combined with the fact that they brought no letters, was evidence of their wish for concealment.

"I now felt a security and consequent exultation in the recovery of my property which I had not before experienced; indeed, I perceived no way in which it could be eluded. But man's shortsightedness is proverbial, and scarce a day passes that it is not made self-evident. As Arizmendi was indebted $10,000 to myself and Mr. Carrington, of Providence, jointly, for short freight on a ship belonging to us equally, I did not imagine that any mischief could arise from my notifying him of Arizmendi's arrival, though the result clearly proved that the information had better been delayed. With ill-judged impetuosity he sent the papers proving the debt to a lawyer in Boston, with directions to institute a suit, notifying me at the same time of his having done so. Perceiving at once the mischief that would result from precipitate action, I went to the lawyer and persuaded him to wait a week, with the view of giving Arizmendi time to ascertain the prospect of his recovering the property of which he was in pursuit. This engagement was not adhered to; the writ was issued, and, for want of bail, he was imprisoned, thus depriving him of the power of making the collections on which mainly depended the chance of our obtaining our payment. It was literally destroying the bird that was destined to lay the golden egg.

"This error being manifest, one of the partners of the Providence house came on, and, in the hope of retrieving it, we united in an act which only made matters worse, that of releasing him on his promise of making a settlement, for it soon became evident that his only object was to secure his liberty, and that he had no intention of fulfilling his engagement. On being satisfied of this a new suit was instituted; but before the writ could be served on him he managed to escape, by the aid of a Boston merchant, who enabled him to

elude the vigilance of the officer charged with his arrest, concealed him until a vessel for St. Thomas was ready to sail, and then caused him to be conveyed on board.

"In judging of actions we often err, and are guilty of injustice to the individual whose motives we undertake to scan, but in this case there can be no mistake. As there existed no personal animosity towards me on the part of this merchant, he could only have been actuated by motives of sordid interest. Arizmendi's principal object in coming to Boston was to collect a debt of upwards of $100,000, alleged to be due him from this man.

"On the presumption that it was desirable for him to escape the payment of this debt, or even to avert a troublesome course of litigation, nothing could possibly have been more opportune than the coincidence of circumstances which enabled him to become the confidant, adviser, and benefactor of Arizmendi; ostensibly to screen him from the rigors of a prison, but really to rid himself of the necessity of paying his debt; for, once away, he knew there was a moral certainty he would not return to prosecute the claim in person, and it was evident it could not be done by an agent except at the risk of the property's being trusteed. But every single act of a man's life, when seen from the right point of view, is found to be in harmony with his whole character.

"It was now evident that I must relinquish all hope of ever recovering any portion of this debt, a debt so considerable that its loss was productive of lifelong inconvenience; a debt for the recovery of which I had made two voyages to Europe, had induced my debtor to come to this country, and, when apparently on the point of securing payment, been compelled, by the blundering mismanagement of one man and rascality of another, to see the opportunity defeated."

It seemed, indeed, a cruel and inglorious termination of the series of enterprises so ably planned and energetically prosecuted to be thus deprived of their legitimate results, and the burden was the more grievous as he no longer possessed the youthful vigor and elasticity which looks only to the future, forgetful of past disappointments.

His habits had always been simple, and no man could be more averse to any ostentatious display of wealth than he. But he was generous by nature, and could not restrict himself in any expenditure demanded for the comfort of his family, the education of his children, the claims of friendship, or the exercise of a generous hospitality. He had sought money as a means to these ends, and their indulgence had become too strongly confirmed by habit to be abandoned at the age of fifty. But he felt the imprudence, at that age, of exposing himself and the remnants of fortune he had secured to further risks of such nature as might be justifiable with a younger man.

He had kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with his old friend Shaler during his long residence at Algiers as consul-general of the United States, and kept alive the warm friendship begun in their early manhood. In 1828 Mr. Shaler received the appointment of consul at Havana, and immediately invited my father to accompany him as vice-consul, sharing equally the emoluments of the office. These were at that time dependent on fees from American shipping, and although our commerce with that port was then so large that the office was worth from $7000 to $10,000 a year, and, next to Liverpool, the most valuable in the gift of the president, yet, until Mr. Shaler's appointment, the United States had only been represented by a commercial agent.

At this time, also, Mr. Shaler purchased of my father the estate at Lancaster which had been his home ever since his marriage in 1804, and placed his widowed sister, Mrs. Stilwell, with her family, in charge of it, while

he went with my father and mother to Havana and (being a bachelor) resided with them there until the melancholy occurrence of his death from cholera in 1833. The disease raged fearfully there at the time, and upwards of eight hundred deaths occurred on the day that Mr. Shaler died. He was first attacked at five P.M., and died next day at seven A.M. The dead were carried off in carts and no funeral rites allowed, and it was only by an energetic appeal to the captain-general that my father got a permit to enclose the remains of his old friend in a coffin and accompany it as a solitary mourner to the foreigners' burying-ground at Chorero, five miles west of the city, on the sea-shore, where he saw it interred, and subsequently placed over the spot a massive stone monument bearing a suitable inscription.

The American merchants in Havana immediately united in a unanimous petition that my father should be appointed to the consulate, the essential duties of which he had performed for five years in so satisfactory a manner as to elicit a voluntary and highly complimentary expression of satisfaction from the Treasury Department at Washington. Memorials of similar purport were also sent to Washington by the merchants of New York, Boston, Salem, and Portland who were engaged in the Havana trade. Daniel Webster and his fellow-senator, Nathaniel Silsbee (my father's old friend), exerted themselves actively in his behalf. But the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils" had then just been, for the first time, promulgated by Secretary Marcy, and my father was one of the earliest to suffer by its execution. The memory of his vigorous denunciation

of the principle, as subversive of all honest administration, gives me a lively sense of the satisfaction he would have felt could he have foreseen that it would receive its death-blow at the hands of his kinsman, the present President of the United States.

Though my father was never an active politician, he was always a stanch whig, and that fact was sufficient cause for removal. The place was given to Mr. Nicholas P. Trist, a young Virginia lawyer who had been the private secretary of President Jackson. He was a gentlemanly and very intelligent man, but entirely inexperienced in commercial and maritime affairs, and had accepted the office in the full expectation that my father would be glad to remain and wield the laboring oar. This, however, he positively declined, though offered the same terms on which he had been associated with Mr. Shaler, and he returned to the United States as soon as Mr. Trist had assumed the duties of the office.

In the final chapter of his published narrative my father gives a *résumé* of the profits and losses of his various adventures, and concludes as follows:

"On making an estimate of my losses for the twenty years between 1805 and 1825, I find their aggregate amount to exceed $200,000, although I never possessed at any one time a sum exceeding $80,000. Under such losses I have been supported by the consoling reflection that they have been exclusively my own, and that it is not in the power of any individual to say, with truth, that I have ever injured him to the amount of a dollar. With a small annual sum from the Neapolitan indemnity I have been able to support myself till this was on the point of ceasing, by the cancelling of that debt, when I was so fortunate as to obtain an office in the Boston Custom-House, the duties of which I hope to perform faithfully and in peace during

the few remaining years, or months, or days which may be allotted me on earth."

He continued to hold this office for some years, but was deposed by a new administration, and, in 1845, removed with my mother to my home in Burlington, N. J., and continued to reside with me till the end of his life. My mother died in Burlington in 1850. In 1854, my father removed with me to Massachusetts, and died in my house in Danvers, November 23, 1860, at the age of eighty-seven.

From the many obituary notices of my father which appeared in Boston, Salem, New York, and elsewhere, I select the following, from the pen of Hon. George S. Hillard, as comprising the fullest and most discriminating statement of the peculiar combination of elements which formed his character. It appeared in the Boston *Courier* of December 8, 1860:

"THE LATE RICHARD J. CLEVELAND.

"In announcing, a few days since, the death of this venerable and excellent man, we promised to pay some more extended tribute to his worth than we then did, and this promise we now propose to redeem.

"He was born in Salem, December 19, 1773, and had thus nearly reached the great age of eighty-seven years when he died, having long survived most of his contemporaries, and moving among their children and grandchildren as one of the few survivors of a former generation.

"He was trained in the counting-house of the late E. H. Derby, Esq., and, as was the case with so many energetic spirits at that time, he combined the duties and the knowledge of the merchant and the navigator.

"His first voyage was in 1792, in company with the late Nathaniel Silsbee, who commanded the brig. Mr. Silsbee was not twenty years

of age; his chief mate was about as old, and Mr. Cleveland, who was captain's clerk, was only nineteen.

"The beginning, however, of that series of enterprises which formed the main work of his life, and in which he showed such remarkable qualities of mind and character, was in 1797, when, finding himself at Havre, and left at liberty by the unexpected abandonment of a voyage by the owner of a ship he had the charge of, he bought a little cutter of only thirty-eight tons, and sailed for the Isle of France with a crew of two men and a boy. From that time till 1804 he was navigating, at first alone, and afterwards in company with the late William Shaler, in all parts of the world, and achieving triumphantly feats which experienced navigators regarded as impossibilities.

"From 1804 to 1820 he was more or less engaged in enterprises which were marked with the characteristics of almost unequalled boldness, combined with a power of execution which enabled him to carry them to a successful issue. The incidents of these eventful years were detailed by him in a work, published in 1842, entitled 'A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises,' which passed through two editions in America and was republished in England. This work is written in a style of attractive simplicity, and no one can read it without admiration of the noble and generous qualities which the unpretending narrative unconsciously reveals.

"He was a man of traits of character not often found in combination. He had great boldness, resolution, and energy; inflexible courage and indomitable perseverance, but he was no less remarkable for refinement of feeling, purity of soul, and delicacy of perception. A more perfect gentleman, alike in essence and manner, was never seen. His domestic affections were very strong; he had a genuine enjoyment of nature, and a love of reading which was a constant pleasure and resource alike in the busy and the unemployed moments of his life.

"During his crowded years of activity and enterprise he made and lost much property, and more than once deemed himself, and had a right to deem himself, a rich man; but the end of it was that he found himself in his old age a poor man. This was not owing, as might be surmised, to any reckless and extravagant habits induced

by the ease with which independence had been won, for he was a man of very simple tastes and with no expensive wants. But he was extremely generous, and this trait led him to aid, with profuse liberality, all who had any claims upon his affection. And while in the planning of commercial enterprises he showed rare inventive qualities, and in the execution of them wonderful energy and perseverance, he was somewhat deficient in those humbler qualities which enable men to keep and manage what they have earned; and no one need be told that the accumulation of wealth depends quite as much upon the latter class of gifts as the former. But this reverse of fortune served to bring out more and more the beauty of Captain Cleveland's character and give him new claims to the affection and esteem of his friends. It was gently, patiently, and heroically borne; never a word of complaint was heard from his lips, never a bitter arraignment of the ways of Providence, never an envious fling at the prosperity of others. And the wise, kind, cheerful old man was happy to the end. His last years were passed in the family of his youngest son, soothed and gladdened by the most affectionate care. His decay was gradual, and he was released at last without suffering.

"Captain Cleveland, among other traits, was remarkable for his strict temperance, although he grew up at a time when the usages of society made abstinence from intoxicating drinks a harder duty than now. During his whole life he never drank a glass of wine, or of any alcoholic liquor, or of porter, ale, or beer, and never used tobacco in any form. He ascribed his uniform good health to these temperate habits; but, with his usual simplicity of manner, he never took any moral airs upon himself on this account, but was accustomed to say, when he alluded to the subject at all, which was rarely, that the reason he did not drink wine was because he did not like the taste of it."

As I was but a little child at the time my father had concluded the last of his voyages, my early recollections of him have no connection with such characteristics as are naturally associated with the conception of a daring adventurer. He never encouraged in his children the

ambition to emulate his own achievements, and, indeed, they were so rarely alluded to by him in conversation that the details given in his narrative were for the most part as new to me, at the time of its publication, as to the world at large. I remember him only as the country gentleman, living at ease in the beautiful home at Lancaster which was my birthplace, and so absorbed in the duties and interests of the daily life around him that no stranger would have suspected that the most active portion of his life had been spent in navigating the ocean. He had an ardent love of nature, and a keen perception of her attractive features, whether in their grandest or their most simple forms. He was such a lover of flowers that it was his constant custom, during their season, to carry a pink or some other fragrant blossom in his mouth, and he would preserve a single one for a whole day, laying it beside his plate at meals and resuming it afterwards. He was an appreciative reader of the best literature of the day, and was in the constant habit of reading aloud to my mother, and discussing with her the subjects which excited his interest.

He exercised a generous hospitality, not in the form of ostentatious banquets or large assemblies, but by making his home attractive to his wide circle of friends, so that it was rare that some one or more of them was not his guest, and always unceremoniously, as one of the family.

His neighbors and fellow-townsmen were on terms of friendly social intercourse with him, and he was always active in promoting the best interests of the town, where his memory is still held in respect.

The natural beauty of that lovely valley is still un-

changed. The Nashua winds its course through the rich meadows as of old; the grand old elms, for which its valley is famous, still wave their gracefully drooping arms; the rounded forms of Wachuset and Watatoc, and the more distant and picturesque outline of the Grand Monadnoc are still pencilled against the evening sky; the seasons come and go in all their changing beauty as of yore; but no one remains upon the stage who retains even a recollection of the actors whose presence gave life to the scene in the days of which I speak.

I have elsewhere mentioned that my father's anxiety to secure for his children better advantages of education than were afforded by the country schools of the day led to the establishment at Lancaster of a classical school, the selection of the teachers of which was intrusted to him, and the first of whom was Jared Sparks, the subsequent historian and President of Harvard College. The second was George B. Emerson, whose subsequent record as a teacher and as President of the Massachusetts Board of Education has secured for him a position of the highest order in the annals of education, and the third was the late Solomon P. Miles, afterwards principal of the English High School in Boston, who but for his premature death would doubtless have attained corresponding honors. Each of these eminent men began his career on leaving college by taking charge of the school established at Lancaster, and each of them has repeatedly and enthusiastically expressed to me his sense of the value to him, at that critical period of his life, of the homelike influence, the warm personal friend-

ship, the genial social atmosphere, and the ready sympathy and counsel, with which his memory of my father and mother was associated.

The existence of a school of such high character attracted to the town a number of families desirous of availing themselves of its advantages, and resulted in the attainment of such a standard of social and intellectual culture as few country towns at that day could boast.

In Marvin's History of Lancaster, published in 1879, Miss Elizabeth Peabody communicates some very interesting reminiscences of those days. She was then a young lady, warmly interested in the cause of education, to which her life has since been devoted, and was living in Lancaster, where her father was, for a time, settled as a physician.

She alludes as follows to my father and mother:

"Captain Cleveland had retired on his fortune, gained in a successful mercantile career begun at Salem. He was a noble, original, heroic character, who, inspired by a love that was eventually crowned by a most happy marriage, worked with the enthusiasm and self-devotion of a knight of the days of chivalry to win a fortune for his bride elect, and with a kindred high sense of honor. In the course of his career he met and united in a bond of friendship, as exceptional as his love, with Mr. Shaler, who subsequently bought his residence. At his house there was every evening an assemblage of those who were interested in education, a subject in which Mrs. Cleveland was deeply absorbed, having herself educated her three boys, with the help in the last years of Messrs. Sparks, Emerson, and Miles, to all of whom her hospitable mansion was a home, and she their most respected and beloved counsellor. She had studied Rousseau and Pestalozzi without losing her own originality. The evenings at her house were the greatest inspiration to all these educators.

There I met Colburn, and learned from his own lips his idea of making children discover and make for themselves the rules of arithmetic. . . .

"But it was not merely new methods of intellectual education that were discussed at these *symposia* at Mrs. Cleveland's, but the necessity and method of building up *character* on the Christian and heroic ideal of inspiring children with the power to educate themselves.

"When I think of those years of my life at Lancaster, it seems arrayed in all the glory of the ideal. The enthusiasm for study among the young people; the enthusiasm of educating in the teachers; the extraordinary beauty of nature; the classic music which Mrs. Cleveland always played to her husband, who enjoyed it so much that she never allowed a visitor to interrupt it; Mr. Cleveland's unworldly nobility of character—all blend to make it an oasis in the desert of this 'work-day world.' Life has never seemed to me tame or uninteresting; but this period is glorified in my memory, not merely by the subjective enthusiasm of my own youthful reason, but by the objective reality of so many rare individualities congregated together."

My own recollections of those golden days of my childhood and of the happy home in which they were passed is so vivid, and the contrast is so great between the pure and wholesome social atmosphere which then surrounded me, and the heated and tainted air which is so widely prevalent to-day, that I find it hard to believe that this can be the same world in which I then lived.

I alone am left of those who were nearest and dearest to him, and the home he so loved is no longer in existence. His trials and disappointments, his courage and perseverance, his successes and failures, are only "Remembered as a tale that's told."

As the last survivor of his family, I offer this tribute

of respect to his memory, in the faith that the record of such a life is worthy of preservation, and the hope that the footsteps he has left upon the sands of time may serve to give new heart to "Some forlorn and shipwrecked brother."

THE END.

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